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THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE REFORMATION

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE REFORMATION

BY THE

REV. C. SYDNEY CARTER, M.A.

AUTHOR OF "THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY"
AND "THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY"

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE crucial importance of the period described in these pages must constitute the only apology for attempting to add to the numerous histories of the English Reformation. The events which occurred in this momentous century, so vitally affected the character and position of the Anglican Church that the solution of the difficulties and problems which distress the Church to-day is largely dependent on the precise interpretation taken of the importance and significance of the changes which were then effected.

It is impossible, therefore, in dealing with such a highly controversial subject, to expect to escape the imputation of a certain bias; yet in the following pages I have honestly striven to present in a candid and, as far as possible, impartial manner a popular outline of the chief events in the life and history of the English Church during the sixteenth century, a period so full of sudden and violent changes and reactions. I have endeavoured to draw my facts and conclusions, wherever possible, from contemporary evidence, or at least from well-accredited historians of the succeeding century, and where I have relied on the testimony or research of modern writers, I have always acknowledged my indebtedness in the footnote.

The references to the works of the Reformers are taken from the Parker Society's edition of their writings.

C. S. C.

HERNE BAY,
September 1912.



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The Forty-two Articles published.

Death of Edward VI.

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1588. Spanish Armada defeated.

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1594. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity published.

1596. The Lambeth Articles compiled.

1603. Death of Elizabeth.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE REFORMATION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE dawn of the sixteenth century introduces us to one of the most critical periods in English and European history. It marked the rise of the spirit of nationality, and, as a consequence, witnessed the collapse of the old medieval system of government in Church and State. The conception, which had been the outstanding feature and constant ideal of the Middle Ages, of one great universal Empire, with the Pope as spiritual and the Emperor as secular head, was quite incompatible with the rapid growth of the modern idea of strong and independent nations.

This movement had been very greatly accelerated by the mortal struggle with feudalism which had occupied such a large part of the fifteenth century. In France and England the disintegrating force of an increasingly powerful semi-independent feudal aristocracy had succumbed to a new and more powerful monarchy personifying national unity and consolidation. The practical anarchy entailed by a disastrous period of civil war led Englishmen to welcome the prospect of settled order and peace under the absolute rule of a new monarchy. Thus the termination of the Wars of the Roses with the battle of Bosworth Field enabled the Tudors to build up a strong and despotic government on the ruins of the old feudal nobility.

But the Tudor monarchy not only introduced a new political era, it also marked the commencement of an important crisis in religious and intellectual thought in England. In spite of her insular position, it was impossible that England should long be unaffected by the change and general upheaval which Europe had

been passing through during the last half-century.

The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, had led to the revival of the study of the ancient Greek and Latin classics, and the birth of new ideas, especially in Italy, where the exiled Greek scholars were welcomed. Even before the fall of the Grecian Empire the study of Greek philosophy had become popular in Italy, especially at Florence, where learning and culture received the warm patronage of the wealthy and powerful Medici family. But the sudden dispersion of a multitude of Greek scholars, bringing with them the priceless manuscripts of ancient Greek literature which had been stored up in the Christian city of Constantinople, not only vastly increased the possibilities of acquiring Hellenic knowledge, but produced a perfect passion for Greek learning and literature throughout Italy. Again, the discoveries and explorations of Columbus and Vasco de Gama had not only stimulated trade and commercial enterprise, but had also revolutionised men's idea of the world and its inhabitants, while the invention of printing had vastly multiplied the facilities of acquiring and diffusing knowledge. The Italian Renaissance had produced a general revival of learning and scholarship, and this stimulated thirst for knowledge led to a new scientific spirit of investigation and inquiry. This search after truth fostered a spirit of criticism which left no realm untouched, and soon revolted against the unquestioning submission to ecclesiastical authority demanded by the medieval Church. In Italy, however, this revival was mainly confined within philosophical and æsthetic channels. It attacked the historical pretensions of the Papacy in a secular and cynical spirit of careless infidelity,2 while it substituted for the stern asceticism of a past age the worship of the beautiful in art and the inordinate gratification of the senses. The introduction of pagan philosophy was followed by the revival of pagan immorality, and the Italians "were content to gratify their tastes and their senses, caring little for worship, and still less for doctrine.",1

¹ The printing-press was ar more extens vely employed by the Reformers

than by their opponents.

3 Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, p. 312 (1871).

who did not entertain heretical opinions about Christianity. At the Court the ordinances of the Catholic Church and passages of holy writ were spoken of only in a jesting manner; the mysteries of the faith were despised."—Quoted in Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, vol. i. p. 50 (1866, Austin).

It was only when the Renaissance crossed the Alps that this new spirit of inquiry took a more serious and dogmatic turn by attacking the theological teaching of medieval scholasticism; and when criticism also began to be applied to the historical basis of Christianity itself, the way was paved for the spiritual reformation in Germany which soon followed. The attempt of the "Conciliar" movement, at the beginning of the previous century, to reform the Church in "Head and members," had proved abortive by its failure to enforce the principle of the supremacy of General Councils over Popes, but the Reformation which Luther inaugurated in Germany in the next century was a successful attempt to deny the necessity of the mediatorial work of the Church, and to assert the right of the individual to refer, not to the supreme authority of the Pope, but to clear teaching of the Holy Scripture as the final court of appeal in matters of faith. Thus the Renaissance in Northern Europe went further than in Italy in its endeavour to revive, not merely pure classics, but pure Christianity; the German "humanist" in his desire to restore religion to its primitive purity studied the Bible rather than pagan philosophy, and it was on this distinctly moral and religious side that the influence of the Renaissance penetrated into England.

But before speaking of the effect of this new movement there, it will be well to say something of the condition of religious life and the need that existed for a reformation in the English Church at this time.

CHAPTER II

THE NECESSITY FOR REFORM

Even before the commencement of the Middle Ages a certain amount of corruption had gradually gained a permanent footing in the Christian Church, but from that time onwards gross abuses, both of doctrine and discipline, had rapidly increased throughout Western Christendom, and had often furnished themes for satirists and religious reformers. It is generally admitted that by the beginning of the sixteenth century the Church had departed farthest from the simplicity of doctrine and worship which had characterised Apostolic and primitive times. There is ample evidence to show that the English Church fully shared in this general degeneracy. Religious devotion consisted mainly in external rites and observances. "The multitude of ceremonies," it was asserted, "was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us."1

The spiritual aspect of religion had been largely obscured, and medieval Christianity had tended to become almost exclusively sacerdotal, sacramental, and spectacular. The clergy had virtually ceased to exercise a true "ministry," and acted instead as mediatorial agents between the people and God. Salvation had come to be dependent on the gift of the Church, and normally all grace and pardon came through the sacrifice of the mass or the sacrament of penance, both of which were dispensed exclusively by the priest.

The medieval doctrine of Transubstantiation, which virtually gave the priest the power of working a miracle each time he offered up Christ in the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, had destroyed the primitive idea of a "communion" of the faithful in the Lord's Supper. Thus the worshipper came to regard the favour of God as mainly dependent on the mechanical act of the priest, which was at once

efficacious and meritorious. "God," said a medieval writer, "is more compassionate and generous through the priest than of Himself, for He does more kindnesses through him than

through Himself." 1

The Penitential system, originally most beneficial as a disciplinary measure in the early Church, had been grossly corrupted, until by the scholastic theory of Indulgences the punishment due even to the worst offences could be commuted by an elaborately calculated system of money payments or by some specially meritorious act. Thus Pope Urban II had promised "remission of sins" to all who should die while on Crusade, and Boniface VIII in 1309 granted "the fullest pardon of all their sins" to all who should visit Rome in the Jubilee Year.² Again, by the impious doctrine of the "Treasury of Merits," it was asserted that the supererogatory works of Christ and His saints constituted a sort of spiritual treasury at the sole disposal of the Pope, who applied them in the form of Indulgences for the benefit of the souls of the faithful on earth and in purgatory. Although it was always officially declared that Indulgences could only release the sinner from the temporal penalty 3 due to his offence, and that only absolution, which must be preceded by contrition, or at least sorrow for the personal consequences of sin (attrition), could release from the eternal guilt of sin, yet the popular conception was that an Indulgence practically did away with the necessity of Confession and Absolution. Thus Tetzel's Indulgence, which provoked Luther's famous Ninetyfive Theses, definitely promised the purchaser "the fullest remission of all sins," both past and future.

It is easy to imagine what a fearfully demoralising effect such a doctrine must have exerted, especially on the lives of the humble and uneducated, who supposed that permission to sin with impunity could be procured by a kind of financial invest-

ment.

The popular practice of making pilgrimages to famous shrines also fostered the grossest credulity and superstition. A most profitable trade in relics was carried on at these sacred places, where numbers of the more ignorant were imposed on by the

¹ Quoted in Bezold's Geschichte der Deutsche Reformation. ² Cf. Meyrick, Scriptural and Catholic Truth, p. 119.

³ Purgatory, the period between death and judgment, was regarded as belonging to time and not eternity, and thus Indulgences availed for the relief of sufferers there.

sham miracles which the priests performed, while costly gifts were offered to the various images in expectation of bodily healing. The shrines of Our Lady of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury were veritable treasuries of wealth. The "true blood of Our Lord" was exposed at Hailes Abbey, while the famous "Rood of Grace" at Boxley was an image which "miraculously" moved its features at the bidding of the priest.

Erasmus launched all his scathing satire on these puerile impostures. "What would Jerome say," he asks, "if he could see the miraculous oil, the portions of the true Cross, enough if they were collected to freight a large ship? Here we have the blood of St. Francis, Our Lady's petticoat, and St. Thomas's shoes; not presented as innocent aids to religion, but as the substance of religion itself, and all through the avarice of the priests and the hypocrisy of the monks playing on the credulity of the people." 1

Although probably it was mainly the vulgar and unenlightened who were deceived by these frauds, while to others, pilgrimages, enjoined as specially meritorious acts, served only as a pretext for a season of amusement or revelry, yet to permit such a travesty of sacred things could not but be demoralising to the religious spirit of the age, and the Injunctions which Henry VIII found it necessary to issue against their continuance proved what a firm hold these superstitious practices had on the minds of the ignorant. ²

Again, the invocation of saints, no less an evil than pilgrimages, had developed into a homage which virtually amounted to a form of polytheism. Each saint, as Erasmus declared, was regarded as a deity possessing special powers. "In fact, as many things as there are that we either fear or wish for, so many gods have

we made for them." 3

Probably the chief cause of such gross superstition was due to the fact that the common people were almost entirely ignorant of the Bible. There was no authorised version, except in Latin, while Wycliffe's translation had been condemned as heretical. In fact the knowledge of the Scriptures by the laity was regarded as a mark of heresy, and Erasmus tells us that men had been

1 Froude's Life and Letters of Erasmus, p. 115 (1894).

² In 1513 Queen Catharine and Sir A. Plantagenet both made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, the former for the defeat of the Scots (at Flodden), and the latter for deliverance from shipwreck.—Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers, p. 273 (1896).

³ Erasmus, Eucomium Moriae (Kennett's Trans.).

burned at the stake for advocating the circulation of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. "The theologians," he says, "are careful that the sacred Scriptures shall be known to few, lest their authority and their gains should be interfered with." 1 Even in the public services the people were taught through the eye rather than through the intellect. "They chant nowadays," says Erasmus, "in our churches in what is an unknown tongue, while you will not hear a sermon once in six months telling the people to amend their lives. Church music is so constructed that the congregation cannot hear one distinct word." 2 Even many of the clergy were terribly illiterate. The friars, whose earnest preaching had produced such a marvellous but transitory revival in the thirteenth century, were now conspicuous for their love of sloth and avarice rather than for their zeal for souls; while the monastic system was being brought into general contempt by the worldliness, idleness, and ignorance of so many of the monks. The higher ecclesiastics were nearly always pluralists, generally nonresident, and almost exclusively occupied with secular ambitions, and thus shamefully neglected their spiritual duties. It was the age of ecclesiastical statesmen.

With the prevalence of so much ignorance and worldliness, it is not surprising that all kinds of vice and immorality were terribly rife. The practice of compulsory celibacy had developed into a system of recognised concubinage amongst the clergy, which was either connived at or condoned by the payment of a fine to the bishop. Erasmus stated that in one year as many as eleven thousand German priests were reported as living in this way, while it is related that "in many places the people were pleased to see their priest keeping a mistress, in the hope that it might secure their wives from seduction." We cannot, however, be much surprised at the dissoluteness of many of the inferior clergy when we consider the lives of the princes and dignitaries of the Church. Religious zeal and piety were unknown to the Popes of this period, who, when they were not occupied in political intrigues or literary pursuits, spent their time in idle luxury and pleasure, or in shameless wickedness and immorality. "The question how a Pope should marry, provide for, and establish his children, affected the politics of all Europe."4 The

¹ Erasmus, Epp., p. 1071 (ed. 1641, fol.).

² Froude's Erasmus, p. 116.

³ Quoted in D'Aubigné's History of Reformation, vol. i. p. 37 (1846).

⁴ Ranke's Popes of Rome, vol. i. p. 32.

ordinary clergy could scarcely be reproved for violating the vow of chastity when Pope Alexander VI, whom a Florentine historian describes as a man of "no sincerity, no shame, no truth, and no religion," possessed a family of five illegitimate children, and gave public fêtes to celebrate his daughter's marriage. So corrupt and immoral were the Italian ecclesiastics, that Machiavelli declared that "the scandalous examples and crimes of the Court of Rome are the cause why Italy has lost every principle of piety and all religious sentiment. We Italians are chiefly indebted to the Church and the priests for having become a set of profane scoundrels." 3

Attempts had been made at different times during the Middle Ages to deal with this degenerate condition of the Church. The fearless Bishop Grosseteste had courageously denounced the corruptions of the Church of his day, while efforts at reform had been made by the General Councils held at Constance and Basle. In England the movement started by Wycliffe had been premature and had ended in temporary disaster, and now another attempt was to be made by the disciples of the Renaissance.

1 Cf. Massingberd, The English Reformation, p. 241.

² "The debauchery of Alexander VI must ever be contemplated with loathing," says Ranke, *Popes of Rome*, vol. i. p. 49.

³ Quoted in D'Aubigné, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 146.

CHAPTER III

ENGLAND AND THE NEW LEARNING

The new era of art and literature which had so transformed Italian thought during the fifteenth century did not materially affect England till the beginning of the next century. Henry VII was far too much occupied with his own avaricious and ambitious schemes to give much attention to the revival of letters, but the accession of his son in 1509 gave a great stimulus to the new movement. The popular and handsome young king was an accomplished son of the Renaissance, and thus his accession was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm by the learned world of his day. Lord Mountjoy told his friend Erasmus of the pride of the people in their new sovereign, who was "no seeker after gold or gems or mines of silver, but desired only the fame of virtue and eternal life." 1

Henry VIII himself, in an earnest personal appeal to Erasmus to come to England, said: "It has been, and is, my earnest wish to restore Christ's religion to its primitive purity, and to employ whatever talents and means I have in extinguishing heresy and

giving free course to the word of God." 2

But although the friends of the New Learning had been but a very small company under Henry VII, the study of Greek literature had been introduced in the schools at Oxford before the year 1475 by the Italian scholar Vitelli, while Amberino, another Italian humanist, had taught Greek at Cambridge. As early as 1465, Selling, an Oxford student, had visited Italy and learnt Greek from the famous Italian scholar Politian. It was to Vitelli and Selling that Thomas Linacre and William Grocyn, Fellow of New College (1467–1481), owed their first acquaintance with Greek, although they both completed their education in humanistic literature by a sojourn in Italy, where they studied under Chalcondylas and Politian. Linacre devoted himself to the study of the science of medicine, and on his return from Italy he

¹ Froude, ut supra, p. 85.

² Ibid., ut supra, p. 86.

lectured in Greek at Oxford to such celebrated pupils as John Colet, Desiderius Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More. He founded the College of Physicians, and was appointed physician to

Henry VIII.

It was no easy task which these English enthusiasts of the Renaissance had undertaken in their endeavour to revive the study of Greek language and literature at Oxford. The English Universities, at this time the strongholds of the antiquated teaching of the medieval scholastics, were bitterly opposed to the new movement. The schoolmen regarded the New Learning as heresy, and far preferred the theological opinions of Duns Scotus or Thomas Aquinas to the study of the New Testament in the original Greek. Many of the doctors and ecclesiastics were not even acquainted with the text of Holy Scripture, and one monk actually declared that "the New Testament is a book full of briers and serpents. The Greek is a new language recently invented, and of it we ought specially to beware. As to Hebrew, it is certain that all who learn it that instant become Jews." 1

The advocates of the New Learning in England insisted, on the other hand, that men should discard the teachings of the schoolmen, and instead of wrangling over the rival systems of the Thomists and Scotists, should imbibe their theology direct from the pure Christianity of the early Latin Fathers and from the New Testament itself. Thus their main aim in visiting Italy was to acquire a thorough knowledge of the ancient classics, and especially of Greek, in order that by returning to the purest sources of knowledge they might secure the best key to the most correct meaning of the text of the New Testament. Their great aim was to bring to people a direct and intelligent knowledge of the Person and teaching of Christ, dispensing altogether with the philosophical subtleties and dogmas of the medieval theologians. Thus Erasmus wished the Scriptures might be translated into all languages, so that "even the weakest woman might read the Gospels and Epistles of St. Paul," and that "the husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough."2

One of the most celebrated names in connection with this new movement is John Colet, the pupil of Grocyn and Linacre, who completed his knowledge of ancient literature by a visit to Italy in 1494. Returning to England in 1496, he commenced his famous course of lectures at Oxford on St. Paul's Epistles,

¹ Quoted in D'Aubigné, ut supra, vol. i. p. 41. ² "The Paraclesis" to his Novum Instrumentum.

which was the first step towards substituting the critical and practical study of the Bible for the involved and pedantic opinions of the schoolmen. In his religious spirit and teaching he seems to have approximated more nearly than any other disciple of the Renaissance to the aims and ideals of the later doctrinal reformers. He had a genuine detestation for the teachings of the medieval doctors, especially of Thomas Aquinas, who "had," he declared, "corrupted the whole teaching of Christ by mixing with it his profane philosophy."1 Thus when theological students sought his advice he urged them to disregard the summae theologiae of the schoolmen and "to keep firmly to the Bible and the Apostles' Creed, and let divines, if they will, dispute about the rest." 2 Erasmus gives us a striking account of Colet's personal character and strong religious opinions. "He talks all the time of Christ. He is a man of genuine piety. I never knew a man of sunnier nature. . . . He thought the Scotists stupid blockheads. He hated Thomas Aquinas even more than the Scotists. . . . He had a particular dislike of bishops. He said they were more like wolves than shepherds. They sold the sacraments, sold their ceremonies and absolutions. They were the slaves of vanity and avarice. He admitted privately that many things were generally taught that he did not believe, but he would not create a scandal by blurting out objections." 3

As Dean of St. Paul's, Colet soon gained great and even undesirable popularity, as his earnest Gospel expositions often attracted many who shared "Lollard opinions," and thus he became suspected of heresy. This was not very surprising, as in his consuming zeal for reform he was not even surpassed by the fearless Latimer in bold and outspoken denunciations of the vices and corruptions of the clergy. Preaching before the Convocation of Canterbury in 1512 he mercilessly exposed the self-seeking, luxurious, and worldly lives of the clergy. He vigorously denounced the secular employments in which so many, especially of the dignitaries of the Church, were engaged. "The Church—the spouse of Christ—which He wished to be without spot or wrinkle, is . . ." he declared, "become foul and deformed . . . so that we seem able truly to say: All things that are in the Church are either the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, or the

¹ Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 49 (1823). ² Seebohm, ut supra, pp. 106-7 (1896).

³ Froude, ut supra, pp. 94-5; and Wordsworth, Eccles. Biog., vol. i. pp. 441-9 (1839).

pride of life! To sum up all in one word, every corruption, all the ruin of the Church, all the scandals of the world, come from the covetousness of priests. We are troubled in these days also by heretics—but this heresy of theirs is not so pestilential and pernicious to us and to the people as the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy." The reformation, he concluded, must commence with the bishops and dignitaries of the Church. There was no need for "new laws or constitutions, but for the observance of those already enacted." Unfit men were not to be admitted to Holy Orders simply because they could "construe a collect, propound a proposition, or reply to a sophism"; what were needed were purity, holiness, knowledge of the Scriptures, and, "above all, fear of God and love of heavenly life." 1

Not even kings were exempt from his impartial criticism. He told Henry VIII, who, in a spirit of vain ambition, was about to invade France in 1511, that "whoever takes up arms from hatred and ambition fights, not under the standard of Christ, but of Satan," and the young king was so pleased by this unusual frankness that he declared, "Well, let everyone choose his own doctor; but this shall be my doctor, before all other what-

soever."2

By his foundation of St. Paul's School in 1510, Colet commenced an experiment in educational reform thoroughly in harmony with the spirit of the Renaissance. The old medieval methods of instruction were discarded, and fresh grammars were composed, by which the pupils could learn pure Greek and Latin and be trained in all the riches of the New Learning. The children, whom Colet exhorted to "lift up your little white hands for me which prayeth for you to God," were to be taught "such authors that with wisdom have joined pure, chaste eloquence, specially Christian authors, who wrote their wisdom in clean, chaste Latin, . . . for my intent is by this school specially to increase knowledge, and worshipping of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian life and manners in the children." 3

One of the most enthusiastic disciples of the New Learning in England was Colet's great friend, the witty and accomplished Thomas More. When but a mere boy, the famous Cardinal Morton had prophesied that "this child, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man." He was a man of a most

² Ibid., p. 182.

¹ Knight's Life of Colet, pp. 251-9 (1823).

Seebohm, ut supra, p. 309 (1896).
 Roper's Life of Sir T. More, p. 4 (1822).

simple and lovable disposition, and despite his gay and careless manners, of deep religious conviction. "Nature," said Erasmus, "never framed anything gentler, sweeter, happier than the disposition of Thomas More." The humane and enlightened principles for the government of society which he enunciated in his famous Utopia, published in 1516, have not yet all been fully realised, and must have seemed peculiarly startling and out of harmony with the conditions of life then prevailing. Although he was fully alive to the prevalent abuses in the Church, and in his Utopia actually advocated complete toleration for all religious opinions, yet he made no attempt to put this principle into practice, and throughout his career he always remained a staunch adherent to the Roman Church, and was so energetic in his suppression of "heretics" that he was described by a contemporary chronicler as "a great persecutor of such as detested the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome."1

The intimate friend of More and Colet, and the man who probably did most to overthrow scholastic theology and advance the cause of the Renaissance, was Erasmus, who passed a considerable portion of his wandering life in England. Born in Holland in 1467, he came to Oxford in 1498, and completed his study of Greek, of which he was passionately fond, under Grocyn and Linacre. By his ready wit, his attractive personality, and his great learning he soon won wide popularity, while he declared that the English scholars knew their classics so accurately that he had lost little in not going to Italy. "When Colet speaks I might be listening to Plato. Linacre is as deep and acute a thinker as I ever met. Grocyn is a mine of knowledge. The number of young men who are studying ancient literature here is

From 1509 to 1514 he held the post of Professor of Greek at Cambridge, which, however, he was obliged to relinquish owing to the niggardly way his services were rewarded. He left England finally in 1516, and ended his days at Basle. Patronised and pensioned by Popes, princes, and prelates, he was able with impunity to expose the superstitions and corruptions in the Church with all the force of his keen wit and biting satire. In his *Praise of Folly*, which created a profound impression and was translated into all languages, Erasmus denounced the medieval superstitions in most unsparingly sarcastic language,

¹ Dict. Nat. Biog., vol. xxxviii. p. 436.

² Froude, ut supra, p. 37.

which could scarcely have been surpassed by an avowed opponent of the Church of Rome. He denounced the folly of invoking particular guardian saints for special purposes, such as toothache, delivery in childbirth, or protection in sea voyages. Those saints that were "most romantic and fabulous were most resorted to, and oftener prayed to than St. Peter, St. Paul, nay perhaps than Christ Himself." "Some more Catholic saints," he declared, "were petitioned upon all occasions, as more especially the Virgin Mary, whose blind devotees think it good manners now to place the mother before the Son." He attacked the idle and luxurious lives of the bishops, and even the Popes. "The Church indeed has no enemies more bloody and tyrannical than such impious Popes, who give dispensations for the not preaching of Christ, adulterate the Gospel by their forced interpretations and undermining traditions, and by their lusts and wickedness grieve the Holy Spirit and make their Saviour's wounds to bleed anew." 1

But Erasmus's greatest contribution to the cause of reform was his publication in 1516 of a critical edition of the New Testament 2 in the original Greek, with a new and scholarly Latin translation, in which he threw over all old traditions and depended entirely on the literal meaning of the text. It soon proved a great blow to medieval Christianity, and also a most important factor in the development of the Reformation. This New Testament quickly took the place of the older but far more imperfect translation of the Vulgate. In publishing it, Erasmus declared that "the highest aim of the revival of philosophical studies should be to give a knowledge of the pure and simple Christianity of the Bible."3 "If the ship of the Church is to be saved from being swallowed up by the tempest, there is only one anchor that can save it: it is the heavenly Word, which, issuing from the bosom of the Father, lives, speaks, and works still in the Gospel." 4

His New Testament was at first received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm, especially in England, but it soon raised a perfect storm of opposition from the bigoted disciples of the Old Learning, who stigmatised Erasmus as a heretic, a forger, and even an antichrist, declaring that it was blasphemous to attempt to improve on the Vulgate. Monks accused him of "trying to

¹ Praise of Folly, pp. 93, 104, and 170 (1887).

² This received the definite approval of Pope Leo X.

correct the Holy Spirit." Archbishop Lee of York, a champion of the old scholastic theology, virulently assailed his old friend, asserting that there were more than three thousand "dangerous frightful passages in it." But it was in vain that the medieval scholastics attempted to overthrow the revival of learning in England while it received the warm and exalted patronage of the King, the Primate Archbishop Warham, and Sir Thomas More, the Lord Chancellor. It was also greatly accelerated by the new art of printing, and had already made rapid strides at the universities. Bishop Fox of Winchester had founded Corpus Christi College at Oxford, with a charter entirely in harmony with the new movement, while Wolsey, Henry's ambitious and allpowerful minister, despite his inordinate love of wealth, pomp, and ceremony, gave a signal proof of his genuine enthusiasm for the New Learning by his magnificent foundation of Cardinal College. At Cambridge, Bishop Fisher had persuaded the Lady Margaret to found Christ's and St. John's Colleges, while Erasmus gives us some idea of the revolution which had taken place in its authorised teaching. "Scarcely thirty years ago nothing was taught at Cambridge," he says, "but the Parva Logicalia of Alexander, antiquated exercises from Aristotle and the Quaestiones of Scotus; . . . now the university is so flourishing that it can compete with the best universities of the age." 1

It is important, however, to remember that with all these noble and successful efforts for the revival of culture and learning and for the reform of medieval abuses, there was as yet no thought of any breach with the recognised standard of orthodoxy. Erasmus was, it is true, accused by his enemies of "laying the egg which Luther hatched," and certainly at times he expressed his theological conclusions in terms which might well have been employed by the celebrated monk of Wittenberg. "In my opinion," he writes, "many might be reconciled to the Church of Rome if, instead of everything being defined, we were contented with what is evidently set forth in the Scriptures or necessary to salvation." The sum of Christ's philosophy, he declared, lay in the knowledge of our redemption through His death, and in union with Christ's body in baptism, so that, dead to the desires of the world, we might follow His teaching and example and pro-

gress from virtue to virtue.2

But even if Erasmus perceived the logical outcome of his

Seebohm, ut supra, p. 400.
 Eras., Epist. cccclxxviii. (Nov. I, 1519).

teaching, he possessed neither the courage nor the inclination to act on its principles. His was the spirit of the timid, retiring, religious philosopher, and not that of the active and fearless Christian reformer. "The corruptions of the Court of Rome," he remarked, "may require reform extensive and immediate, but I and the like of mine are not called on to take a work like that upon ourselves. I would rather see things left as they are than see a revolution that may lead to no one knows what." "Christ I know, Luther I know not. The Roman Church I know, and death will not part me from it till the Church departs from Christ."

In estimating the conduct and attitude of Erasmus, however, it should be carefully borne in mind that much of the superstitious and erroneous teaching then so prevalent was due to the popular and very general misrepresentations and perversions of Christian doctrines, many of which, until the decrees of the Council of Trent, had never been formally recognised as the official teaching of the Church of Rome. "I have not deviated," Erasmus affirmed, "in what I have written, one hair's-breadth from the Church's teaching. I advise everyone who consults me

to submit to the Pope."1

The Oxford disciples of the Renaissance, in common with Erasmus, were a body of ethical and literary reformers, who, like Savonarola, never contemplated any quarrel with the Holy See, as their aim was simply a reform of the moral abuses within the Church. They had no thought or desire to remove the corruptions in its doctrine and ceremonies. "My work has been," said Erasmus, "to restore a buried literature and recall divines from their hair splittings to a knowledge of the New Testament. I have never been a dogmatist." The men of the New Learning "looked forward, not to a reform of doctrine, but to a reform of life, not to a revolution which should sweep away the older superstitions which they despised, but to a regeneration of spiritual feeling before which they would inevitably vanish." 3 But for the achievement of their hopes they failed to realise that before the stream itself could be pure it was necessary to cleanse the source. They had, however, ploughed up the ground and prepared the soil, and it now remained for the coming generation of doctrinal reformers to sow the seed and reap the harvest.

¹ Froude's *Erasmus*, pp. 238-9. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 238-9, 254, 260.

³ Green, ut supra, p. 306.

Thus while the disciples of the Renaissance concerned themselves mainly with the moral and rational teaching of the New Testament, the Reformers dwelt chiefly on its theological and dogmatic conclusions. While the former laboured to cure the ignorance, corruption, and vice which were so terribly prevalent in the lives of both clergy and laity, the latter sought to overthrow the errors and superstitions which had gathered round the medieval system of theology. The one sought to purify morals, the other to purify the doctrine which governed the morality.

CHAPTER IV

ROME AND THE DIVORCE

It has too often been supposed that the breach between England and Rome was almost entirely due to the unfortunate alliance between Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon, and thus it is necessary once again to carefully point out that the Divorce question was merely the occasion and not the cause of the English Reformation. It only accelerated an event which in all probability could not have been delayed very long, for the causes that led to the assertion of the ecclesiastical independence of the Anglican Church lay far deeper than the matrimonial diversions of an

amorous and despotic king.

The revival of learning had, as we have seen, paved the way for the more revolutionary methods of the Reformers, but it must not be forgotten that from the close of the fourteenth century there had existed a party anxious for drastic Church reform. The teachings of Wycliffe and his followers, which had at first spread so rapidly, had indeed been ruthlessly suppressed by the persecuting policy pursued by the Church in the fifteenth century, but although Lollardry had become tainted with the imputation of political sedition and crushed as an effective movement, yet it had by no means been stamped out altogether. of executions for heresy which continue into the early years of the sixteenth century are a sufficient proof that Wycliffite teaching still retained a strong hold on many, especially of the lower middle classes, until at length its secret adherents were stimulated and increased by the Lutheran movement, which began to influence England from about 1520. "Poor men, cobblers, weavers, trade apprentices, and humble artisans, might be seen at night stealing along the lanes and alleys of London, carrying with them some precious load of books which it was death to have, and giving their lives gladly, if it must be so, for the brief tenure of so dear a treasure." This party of doctrinal reformers was,

¹ Froude's History of England, vol. i. p. 168.

however, at present an insignificant minority, although as Henry's reign advanced it grew steadily in numbers and importance.

There was at this time also a growing feeling of hostility against the clergy, engendered largely by the privileges they enjoyed, and the heavy and often unjust fees which were imposed on the laity through the Church Courts. "The immunity of ecclesiastical persons," says Burnet, "was a thing that occasioned great complaints, and good cause there was for them. For it was ordinary for persons, after the greatest crimes, to get into orders, and then not only what was past must be forgiven them, but they were not to be questioned for any crime after holy orders given, till they were first degraded; and till that was done they were the bishop's prisoners." In 1518 a law was passed which denied this "Benefit of Clergy" to all murderers and robbers who were not in the superior orders of bishop, priest, or deacon. This was greatly resented by the clergy, as a heavy blow at their cherished privileges, and a certain abbot publicly denounced it "as contrary to the law of God and to the liberties of the Holy Church, and that all who had assented to it had incurred the censures of the Church."

This bold denunciation so enraged the Commons that they arranged for a conference on this vexed question before the King at Blackfriars, when Dr. Standish, a member of Henry's spiritual Council, so ably championed the obnoxious law that the laity requested the bishops to order the Abbot of Winchcomb to retract his sermon.

The ill-feeling thus aroused was further increased by the supposed murder of a London merchant tailor named Richard Hunne, who, on account of his refusal to pay a mortuary fee, had been cited before a spiritual court. Hunne sued the priest for contravening the "Statute of Praemunire," and in retaliation was accused of heresy by the Bishop of London and imprisoned. Shortly afterwards he was found hanged in his prison, and the jury returned a verdict of murder, and accused the bishop's chancellor of being an accessory to it. In spite of these suspicious circumstances, the bishop most unwisely ordered Hunne's body to be burned as that of a heretic. This action occasioned a great outcry against the clergy, and Hunne's case was espoused by Parliament, while Convocation cited Dr. Standish to answer for his action in opposing the Abbot of Winchcomb. Standish

¹ History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 16 (1825).

claimed the King's protection, and the case was argued before Henry at Blackfriars in 1515. Dr. Veysey, Dean of the Chapel Royal, supported Standish, stating that "the convening of clerks before a secular judge, which had always been practised in England, might well consist with the law of God and the true liberties of the Holy Church." The judges also decided that Convocation, in attempting to try Dr. Standish, had incurred the penalties of a "Praemunire," and thus the members were forced to appear before the King, when Cardinal Wolsey, on behalf of Convocation, humbly disclaimed any intention "of derogating from his prerogative," but begged that "to avoid the censure of the Church, he would refer the matter to the decision of the Pope." Henry, however, replied "that the Kings of England in times past had never any superior but God only," and that therefore "we will maintain the right of our Crown and of our temporal jurisdiction in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors

have done."1

In addition to this unfriendly spirit displayed by the laity towards the clergy, there was an even stronger feeling of hostility to the temporal claims of the Popes. The absolute power and authority in all matters of faith, administration, and jurisdiction claimed and exercised by the Popes of the Middle Ages rested entirely on the foundation of the forged "Decretals" of Isidore and Gratian, the genuineness of which, owing to the new critical and scientific spirit of investigation, was now being seriously questioned. Their absolute authority had, however, been unquestioned for the past three centuries, and had been the main cause of the very general submission to the extravagant claims of the Papacy. Burnet asserts "that England had for above three hundred years been the tamest part of Christendom to the Papal authority, and though the parliaments and two or three highspirited kings had given some interruption to the cruel exactions of the Court of Rome, yet that Court always gained their designs in the end." 2 Even if we may be inclined to question the precise historical accuracy of this statement, there is no doubt that England had suffered severely from the extortion and rapacity and the political aims and intrigues of the medieval Papacy. For the spiritual powers and prerogatives of the "Vicar of Christ" were made to subserve his ambitious designs as a temporal sovereign, until he became the virtual dictator of European

¹ Burnet, ut supra, vol. i. pp. 17-23. 2 History of Reformation, vol. i. p. 15.

politics; as the interests of the rival nations were often materially fostered or hindered by the spiritual claims and influence of the powerful Papal Curia. The great ambition of the Popes was, as a Venetian contemporary declared of Julius II, "to be lords and masters of the game of the world." England had been a special sufferer from this prostitution of Papal authority, and it is not surprising that Wycliffe's protest against the financial demands of a Pope then entirely in the power of France, the traditional enemy of his country, should have been so popular. We can form some idea of the extent of this evil when we remember that the Pope claimed by a divine right to present to all the livings and bishoprics in Christendom, and as these preferments were openly bought and sold, this claim, while it became a source of enormous profit to the Papal treasury, was most ruinous and demoralising to the Church at large. It was estimated that by this practice the Pope drew from England a revenue five times as large as that of the King. It also directly fostered the twin abuses of pluralism and nonresidence, as by virtue of a Papal bull foreigners or even mere boys could often enjoy the profits of a number of cures, the duties of which they either disgracefully neglected or were utterly incapable of fulfilling. Thus at the beginning of the sixteenth century a boy of sixteen actually enjoyed, besides the deanery of Lincoln, three canonries, one prebend, one college mastership, and one rectory.2

Repeated attempts had been made to remedy these abuses. As early as the middle of the thirteenth century Louis IX of France had replied boldly to the Pope's absolute claim to dispose of all benefices that "the kingdom of France, recognising no other superior or protector than God Almighty, is independent of all men, and consequently of the Pope," while by the "Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges," in 1438, this assertion had been made practically effective, as the Gallican Church was freed from the absolute claims and pecuniary exactions of the Papacy for nearly eighty years. Germany had constantly protested against the extortionate demands of the medieval Popes, and by the "Concordat of Vienna," in 1448, very considerable financial concessions had been obtained for the territorial churches. In England the "Statute of Praemunire" (1351) had made it penal to procure Papal bulls or carry ecclesiastical suits outside the realm, while the

² Cf. Massingberd, ut supra, pp. 229.

^{1 &}quot;According to an authentic register, there existed in 1471 nearly 650 saleable offices in the Papal Curia, the incomes of which amounted to about 100,000 scudi."—Ranke, ut supra, vol. i. p. 277.

"Statute of Provisors" (1353) distinctly forbade the Pope to nominate to English benefices. In practice, however, these statutes proved but little protection, for not only were they soon evaded, but almost immediately after they had been re-enacted in the following reign, we find that the Pope again successfully asserted his claim to "provide" his own nominee for the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. Henry IV even went so far as to pass a special Act to allow Papal nominees to possess their cures, while the appointment to bishoprics was usually effected by a compact between the King and the Pope, which ignored the rights of the Cathedral Chapter. Thus, soon after the Council of Constance, Pope Martin V appointed, on his own authority, as many as fourteen bishops in the province of Canterbury alone.

Probably the imposition which pressed most heavily on the clergy and nation was the demand made by the See of Rome for the payment of "Annates" or first-fruits, by which each bishop on his promotion was compelled to pay to the Roman Curia the entire proceeds of his first year's income before he could obtain the necessary bulls for his consecration. So grievous had this burden become that we find that, as soon as Henry VIII had asserted his supremacy over the Church, Convocation actually petitioned him to withdraw himself and his subjects from obedience to the Roman

See, unless this custom should be abolished.1

In tracing the history and momentous result of Henry's divorce proceedings, we should carefully bear in mind the important factor of his own peculiar temperament and character. In addition to his immense popularity, owing to his shrewd wisdom and tact and his many accomplishments, Henry VIII was a man of great courage, and of a resolute and determined will. He could brook no interference with his cherished aims and projects. Wolsey aptly described Henry's special characteristics when he said, "He is sure a prince of a royal courage and hath a princely heart, and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger."²

It is only just to Henry to say that it was not merely his passion for Anne Boleyn that led him to question the validity of his marriage with Catharine. He had at first strongly objected to Henry VII's proposal that he should wed his brother's widow, although political considerations had, on the death of his

¹ Cf. Strype, Memorials of Reformation, vol. i. appendix xli.
² Wordsworth, ut supra, vol. i. p. 637.

father, led him to look more favourably on the project. Thus, a Papal dispensation was obtained, and the marriage was solemnised, although Archbishop Warham protested against it as contrary to the law of God. A want of blessing seemed to attend the union, as at least two sons died in infancy, and the Princess Mary was the only child that reached maturity. Thus, when Henry had no longer any hopes of a male heir, he began to regard this calamity as a divine visitation on his marriage. He consulted the Old Testament Scriptures, and the opinions of the schoolmen, and was persuaded that the marriage was contrary to the laws of God, which, being superior to the laws of the Church, the Pope had no power to dispense. A judgment obtained from the English bishops also upheld this view, and although the appearance of Anne Boleyn probably added point to Henry's conscientious scruples, they had been further fostered by the fact that the doubtful legitimacy of the Princess Mary had already caused both the Emperor Charles V and Francis of France to reject the offer of her hand in marriage.

Thus there was not only a real danger of a recrudescence of civil strife owing to the uncertain title of the heir to the Crown, but we must also remember that the novel prospect of a queen, at a time when a wise and strong personal government was specially needed, was viewed by many with a large amount of

apprehension.

It is impossible here to follow in detail all the various phases—the bribery, duplicity, and intrigue—connected with the lengthy and tedious divorce suit. The unfortunate Queen Catharine was throughout treated in a cruel and heartless manner, her appeals and protestations were ignored, and she was most arbitrarily forbidden to present her case to the world, while Henry was using every effort to persuade the Pope to gratify his desire. Nor was his petition by any means unusual, as Popes were accustomed to override the canonical laws of the Church and annul the marriages of powerful princes for weighty political reasons. Alexander VI had allowed the King of Portugal to marry his deceased wife's sister and the King of Naples to marry his aunt, while the King of Castile had obtained Papal sanction to take a second wife because his first wife was childless.¹

There were, however, peculiar difficulties with regard to Henry's case. His marriage, although clearly uncanonical, had

¹ Cf. A. J. Mason, Thomas Cranmer, p. 10, and Pollard, ut supra, p. 32.

been expressly licensed by Pope Julius II, and it was a dangerous blow to the infallible claims of the Roman See for the Pope to condemn a bull of his predecessor. But even this hindrance might have been overcome if it could have been proved that Julius II had issued the dispensation on the mistaken assumption that the marriage between Prince Arthur and Catharine had never been fully consummated. Unfortunately, however, it was discovered that Julius had legitimised the marriage unconditionally. Thus the problem that faced the weak and vacillating Pope was especially complicated, and alternately bullied and bribed by the contending parties, Clement VII pursued an unscrupulous and temporising policy. His immediate circumstances certainly rendered his position still more unenviable. At the commencement of the suit in 1527 he was imprisoned by the Emperor, and a prospect of release inclined Clement to promise the necessary After his escape, however, he suggested that dispensations. Cardinal Wolsey should judge the matter independently of him, but the fear that any such decision might not receive Papal confirmation led Henry to despatch Gardiner and Fox to Rome to endeavour to persuade the Pope himself to issue a bull annulling the marriage. The influence of Charles V, enlisted both on natural and political grounds on the side of his aunt, prevented Clement from complying with this request. Instead, a commission was granted to Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio to try the case in England, but with secret instructions that no decision was to be given. After many delays the formal proceedings were commenced, but as Catharine resolutely refused to acknowledge the tribunal and appealed to the Pope, in July 1529 the Commission was finally revoked to Rome and the case indefinitely postponed. But Henry VIII was not the man to be so easily foiled, and he was therefore not long in discovering another means of accomplishing his purpose.

CHAPTER V

THE BREACH WITH ROME

This unwelcome termination to the Legatine Commission was the direct cause of the fall of Cardinal Wolsey. Henry most unjustly caused him to be indicted on a charge of infringing the "Statute of Praemunire" by acting as Papal Legate in England, although he himself had used great efforts to procure this position for the ambitious cardinal. Wolsey was immediately stripped of all his enormous wealth and high offices, Sir Thomas More succeeding him as Lord Chancellor. After an abject submission the King was persuaded to pardon him, and he was restored to his archiepiscopal See of York, whither he retired, and endeavoured to regain some measure of esteem and popularity by a life of charity and humility, in striking contrast to his previous career. His enemies, however, shortly afterwards accused him of high treason, and he died on Nov. 30, 1530, at Leicester Abbey, on his way to London, from the crushing effect of this supreme disgrace.1

It is at this critical juncture that we are first introduced to the man whose name must always be vitally and inseparably connected with the Reformation of the English Church, and from whom, as a recent biographer asserts, "no one who values the principles of Reformed Catholicism can withhold a thankful admiration." For it was while Henry was disgusted at the issue of the Papal Commission, that Foxe and Gardiner, his almoner and secretary, reported to him the opinion of their old college friend, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, on the divorce. Cranmer, when appealed to, had declared that the right way to decide the question was to consult the opinion of the divines, and had added that the King was not dependent on the Pope, but "possessed the

² Canon Mason's Cranmer, p. 1.

Lord Herbert observes of Wolsey, "If it be true that no man did rise with fewer virtues, it is as true that few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser crimes objected against him."—Quoted in Plummer, English Church History, p. 39, n.

supreme government over all causes, both ecclesiastical and civil, within his own realm." ¹ Henry immediately sent for Cranmer,

coarsely declaring "that he had the sow by the right ear."

Cranmer, who most reluctantly exchanged the life of a student for that of a courtier, was now ordered to devote his energies to the divorce question, and he published a treatise denying the Pope's power to dispense with a direct divine command. He was then despatched to plead Henry's cause before the Pope and Emperor, and also to carry out his own suggestion of consulting the foreign universities, the majority of which decided in Henry's favour. Bribery was, however, freely used on both sides. Dr. Crook complained of insufficient funds, and openly asserted that all the Italian universities would agree with Henry "if they be well handled." ²

The two English universities were not, however, so easily persuaded. A strong feeling of opposition to the divorce prevailed both at Oxford and Cambridge, and it needed all the exertions of Gardiner and Foxe, backed up by royal letters containing thinly veiled threats of retribution, to bring the majority of the members into compliance with the King's wishes. At Oxford, even after the stern reproof of Archbishop Warham, only the very careful verdict was obtained "that to marry a deceased brother's wife was against the divine law, if the former marriage

had been actually consummated."

Fortified by these favourable decisions, Henry made a further attempt to gain the express sanction of the Pope. Gardiner, when in Italy, had already warned Clement of the danger of thwarting the King's wishes, and in July 1530 a threatening letter was despatched to Rome, signed by an influential number of the clergy and nobility, expressing their surprise and displeasure that the Pope had not at once confirmed the judgment of the universities concerning Henry's divorce, and threatening "to seek for other remedies" if the Pope continued to deny justice to a King so pre-eminent in his defence of the Apostolic See and the Catholic Faith.³

But Henry's patience was already almost exhausted, and he was preparing to act on the advice, well suited to his imperious temper, which he had received from Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's clever but unscrupulous secretary, who told Henry that he was at

¹ Cf. Strype's Cranmer, p. 5 (1853), and Baily's Life of Fisher, p. 89.
² Burnet, vol. ii. p. 112, Records, No. 33.

³ Collier, Eccles. Hist., vol. ix., Records, No. xiv.

present "only half a king," and urged him to proclaim himself the head of the Church of England and dispense with the Pope's

consent altogether.1

Accordingly, in the second session of the Parliament, which lasted from 1529 to 1536 and was to become so memorable in history for its destruction of the Papal power in England, Henry, in order to render the spiritualty completely subservient to his will, ingeniously convicted the whole clergy of the realm of a breach of the "Statute of Praemunire" for being accessory to Wolsey's acts as Papal Legate. It was a most outrageous accusation, as this statute had never been fully enforced and had been so constantly infringed that it was regarded virtually as a dead letter. It was in vain that the clergy pointed out that the King himself had connived at the cardinal's proceedings, by making him his chief minister, for to obtain their pardon they were forced to pay the enormous sum, for those times, of nearly £,119,000; and in addition were required to acknowledge Henry as the "Supreme Head of the Church of England," a novel title which might easily prove at variance with their oath of allegiance to the Pope.2

This new claim occasioned heated debates in the Convocations, and was at length only accepted with the important qualification "as far as is lawful by the law of Christ." But in the Supremacy Act of 1534, this saving clause was omitted, and both clergy and laity were forced to acknowledge Henry as "the only supreme

head in earth of the Church of England." 3

It is important to bear in mind that, although the recognition of this title by the clergy was new, the claim, in so far as it only asserted the Sovereign's supremacy over all persons and causes, was both a right and a duty which had always been regarded as inherent in the ruler of every independent state. The King, as the natural protector and guardian of the rights of every corporate body within his realm, must always exercise a corrective supervision and jurisdiction over the Church. The medieval Popes had persistently endeavoured, often with a large measure of success, to divide this sovereign power within the state, and thus render

1 Cf. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, vol. v. p. 367 (1838).

² One of the medieval canons then in force expressly stated that "He that acknowledgeth not himself to be under the Bishop of Rome, and that the Bishop of Rome is ordained by God to have primacy over all the world, is a heretick and cannot be saved."—Burnet, vol. ii. p. 321, Records, No. 27.

³ Gee and Hardy, Documents Illustrative of English Church History, p. 244.

the clergy virtually an alien body owning exclusive allegiance to a foreign potentate. This policy had, however, met with frequent and strenuous resistance. William I had distinctly enacted royal instead of Papal control over the Church,1 and this had been the real point at issue in the struggles of Henry I with Anselm and of Henry II with Thomas à Becket, while the Second "Statute of Praemunire" (1393) expressly stated that the growing Papal encroachments, if not arrested, would result in the "final destruction of the realm" and the enslavement of the sovereignty of the King to the Pope.2 Thus, as a modern historian has observed: "The formal assumption of supremacy by Henry VIII was but the last stage of a process which had been going on for almost 500 years." 3 It was therefore Henry's subsequent interpretation of his supremacy that constituted a new and startling departure, virtually amounting to the exercise of powers which had hitherto been exclusively claimed by the Pope as the spiritual Head of the Church. For the Act of Supremacy (1534) granted Henry full spiritual authority and jurisdiction to correct and reform all errors and heresies; 4 by virtue of which Cromwell was appointed to the novel office of "Vicar General" and vested with a supreme authority superseding that of the Primate and the diocesan bishops. This power to "correct heresies," simply by virtue of his supremacy, really amounted to a claim, which no previous English king had ever advanced, to determine matters of doctrine for the National Church independently of the authority of the Papal See.

The Commons took advantage of this humiliation of the spiritualty, to petition the King to redress the burdensome privileges and exactions of the clergy. They complain of ecclesiastical canons being enacted without the King's assent, of the excessive fees imposed by the spiritual courts, of the practice of conferring benefices on minors, of the number of holy days encouraging "execrable vices and idle and wanton sports," and of the subtle methods employed in trying heretics, by which innocent but

"unlearned laymen" were often unjustly condemned.

In reply, Convocation denied most of these serious charges, although they apologised if any persons had been unjustly imprisoned, but declared their ignorance of any accused heretic

² Gee and Hardy, p. 123.

¹ Cf. Stubbs' Select Charters, vol. i. p. 82 (1890).

³ C. Beard, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 307-8 (1883).
4 Gee and Hardy, p. 244.

being vexed with subtle questions. They refused, however, to submit their canons to the judgment or approval of the King.1

Henry was, however, far from satisfied with, this vindication,2 and thus on May 16, 1532, Convocation was forced to agree to what is known as the Submission of the Clergy, in which they acknowledged that Convocation ought only to be assembled by the King's writ, and definitely promised to enact no new canons without royal licence and assent, and to assist in revising the existing canons, so that all those not repugnant to God's law and the King's prerogative might receive his assent, and the rest henceforth "be void and of none effect." 3

This stringent anti-clerical legislation led to the retirement of

Sir Thomas More, the Lord Chancellor.

A long-standing and most burdensome exaction was removed in this session by the passing of the Act in 1532 to restrain the payment of Annates, or first fruits, to the See of Rome.4 As much as £,160,000 had been paid to the Roman Curia in this way alone since 1487, and it was now declared that Papal bulls for consecrating bishops should be procured at a fixed rate of 5 per cent. on the annual income of the See. The Act was, however, to remain in abeyance a year in the hope that some friendly settlement of the question might, meanwhile, be arrived at between the King and the Pope.5

In August 1532 Archbishop Warham, the generous patron of the New Learning, died, and Henry selected Cranmer as his successor. He was at the time acting as ambassador in Germany, and his love of retirement and his gentle and somewhat diffident disposition led him instinctively to shrink from such a preeminently responsible position. "He had no love to meddle with affairs of state, for which he was not very proper, by reasons of certain maxims of candour and sincerity which he followed, and which were the very opposite to those generally observed in

<sup>Gee and Hardy, pp. 146-75.
He told the Commons: "We think their answer will smally please you,</sup> for it seemeth to us very slender."—Stubbs, Historical Appendix (iv.), p. 91.

³ Cf. Gee and Hardy, pp. 177-8. As the committee appointed for this purpose never completed its work, all the old canon laws not repugnant or contrarient to the King's prerogative, or the laws of the realm, are still technically valid.

⁵ Gee and Hardy, pp. 180-2. The clergy, however, obtained no financial relief, as the payment of Annates was merely transferred to the Crown until they were at length restored to the Church by Queen Anne.

the government of states." There is little doubt that Cranmer was perfectly sincere when he declared at his trial that "there was never man came more unwillingly to a bishoprick than I did to that. Insomuch that when King Henry did send for me in post that I should come over I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the meantime." 2 One very practical obstacle was his strong objection to take the customary oaths of allegiance to the Pope binding him to "be faithful and obedient" to the Pope and his successors, and "to defend, augment, and promote the rights, honours, privileges, and authorities of the Church of Rome."3 Henry, however, was determined to secure Cranmer, and at length he was persuaded that he could conscientiously take the objectionable oath by protesting at his consecration that "he did not admit the Pope's authority any further than it agreed with the express word of God, and that it might be lawful for him at all times to speak against him and impugn his errors when there should be occasion." 4 On account of this action Cranmer's enemies afterwards accused him of perjury, but as he had at that time no doctrinal guarrel with the Roman Church, it was rather the gratuitous act of an overscrupulous nature. Cranmer, as Canon Mason well points out,5 desired to claim for himself the same liberty to criticise the authority and actions of Popes which every prelate had freely exercised in the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, despite their oaths to the Pope. In an unusually short time Henry managed, by subtle threats and promises. to procure the necessary bulls from Rome, and Cranmer was consecrated on March 30, 1533.

Meanwhile Henry had been secretly married to Anne Boleyn, and as there was already the prospect of issue by her, it was imperative that steps should be immediately taken to annul his former marriage with Catharine. An Act was therefore passed, forbidding under severe penalties all appeals to Rome, and declaring that the English nation was a "complete body within itself, with full power to adjudicate in all cases, spiritual as well as temporal," without any foreign interference. All ecclesiastical causes were in future to be determined by the spiritual

¹ Rapin, *History of England*, bk. xvi. p. 4 (1734).
² Cranmer's *Remains*, p. 223.

³ Collier, ut supra, vol. iv. p. 194 (1840).

Strype's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 24.
Thomas Cranmer, p. 29.

Courts within the kingdom, and final appeals were to be referred to the Archbishop, or, in the case of the King, to the Upper House of Convocation.¹

The Pope's judgment having been thus dispensed with, the Canterbury Convocation decided almost unanimously that Henry's marriage with Catharine had been contrary to the law of God, and could not therefore be dispensed by the Pope. Accordingly Archbishop Cranmer, after vainly attempting to obtain her acquiescence in this decision, declared Catharine contumacious for refusing to appear at his Court, and "on the morrow after Ascension Day" he pronounced the final sentence against her.

On June 1, 1533, Cranmer publicly crowned Anne Boleyn, and on September 7 the future Queen Elizabeth was born, and shortly afterwards created Princess of Wales.

Although this bold and defiant policy constituted a deliberate act of rebellion against the claims of the Papacy, a final effort was made to prevent a complete breach with the See of Rome. The Pope declared Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn null and void, threatening to excommunicate the King unless he reversed the late proceedings. Henry, in reply, appealed from the Pope to the next General Council.2 At this crisis Francis, King of France, intervened and prevailed on Henry, with secret assurances of a favourable decision, to submit the whole matter to the judgment of the Pope and the Consistory. He also persuaded the Pope to agree to this arrangement. The courier from England, however, with Henry's acceptance of this proposal, arrived two days after the prescribed time, and the Imperialists, representing this delay as an intentional contempt of the Apostolic See, persuaded the Pope to decide the case forthwith, and thus on March 23, 1534, sentence was given for Catharine, and Henry was required, under penalty of the censures of the Church, to take her again as his lawful wife. On the arrival of the King's courier an attempt was made to reverse this decision, but the Emperor's adherents were too powerful, and the bull of excommunication was promulgated.3 On such a trivial issue did the final rupture with Rome and the fate of the Reformation in England seem to hang!

¹ Gee and Hardy, pp. 187-95. ² In 1537 Henry refused to appear at a General Council the Pope had summoned to meet at Mantua, maintaining that it pertained to "Christian princes" and not to the Pope to call a "true General Council."

³ Burnet, vol. i. pp. 179-81; and Collier, vol. iv. pp. 226-7.

Meanwhile in the Parliament, which sat from January to March 1534, the memorable Acts were passed which finally destroyed the power of Rome in England. Anti-papal feeling was evidently making rapid strides, as we are told that "during the two former sessions the bishops had preached that a General Council was above the Pope, but in this session they struck a higher note, and a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's Cross that the Pope had no authority at all in England." 1 The first Act carried was "The Submission of the Clergy and Restraint of Appeals," embodying in statutory form the submission wrung from the clergy in 1532. It also extended the "Appeals Act" of the previous year by authorising a final appeal from the Archbishop's Court to the King in Chancery, who was empowered to appointed delegates to try the case. This Court of Delegates was abolished in 1832, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was constituted the supreme court of appeal for ecclesiastical causes.

The next Act forbade any "bulls, briefs, or palls" to be procured from Rome, and ordered that in future all archbishops and bishops should be elected by the cathedral chapter on receipt of the King's license naming the person appointed (congé d'elire). Refusal to elect or consecrate incurred the liability to

the penalties of a pramunire.

By the Act, which followed this, forbidding Papal dispensations and the payment of Peter's Pence, Englishmen were freed from all dependence whatsoever on Rome, although, probably with the chance of an agreement being arrived at between the Pope and Henry, the latter was given full power to annul its provisions at any time before St. John the Baptist's Day, after which they were to be absolute. No license or dispensation from Rome was to be sued for or used within the realm, but, if not contrary to the law of God, they were to be procured from the two Archbishops, and no person was permitted to attend an ecclesiastical council held outside the realm. Monasteries. hitherto under the special care of the Pope, were henceforth to be subject to the visitation of the Crown. A significant clause was, however, added, stating that nothing contained in the Act should hereafter be interpreted as an intention of "varying from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very articles of the Catholic Church of Christendom, or in any

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 190.

other things declared by Holy Scripture necessary for salvation." 1 It is therefore most important to bear in mind that, notwithstand ing the mention of an appeal to Holy Scripture, which became the foundation-stone of all the work accomplished later by the doctrinal reformers, all these stringent Acts against the Apostolic See constituted merely a legal or political, and in no sense a doctrinal, reformation. As Archbishop Bramhall very pertinently remarked, "The many Acts which passed in the reign of Henry VIII. declaring the independence of the Church of England, were passed by Roman Catholics, when there was no thought of any Reformation. If it was this separation from Rome which constituted a schism, then the authors of it-Heath, Bonner, Tunstall and Gardiner—were the schismatics. It was not till Edward's days that the Church of England embraced the doctrines of the Reformation." 2 Henry VIII had not the slightest intention of departing from the recognised teaching of medieval Catholicism. He had always been regarded as a most loyal and zealous son of the Church, and his book against Luther had induced the Pope to bestow on him the proud title of Defender of the Faith, while even his last appeal to the Pope on the divorce question showed quite clearly that he was not actuated by any Protestant leanings. "No Princes heretofore," he wrote, "have more highly esteemed nor honoured the See Apostolic than we have; wherefore we be the more sorry to be provoked to this contention, which to our usage and nature is most alienate and abhorred."3

It would also be a mistake to suppose that even the work of destroying Papal jurisdiction in England which the "Reformation Parliament" had just accomplished was entirely novel and revolutionary. The abolition of Papal dispensations and Peter's Pence was, indeed, a fresh departure, while Henry's interpretation of his claim to supremacy over the Church was certainly an innovation, but in the main the anti-papal legislation had been based on an appeal to precedent. The appointment of bishops by congé d'elire was similar to a provision of the "Constitutions of Clarendon," although in practice their election had usually been the result of an arrangement between the King and Pope. Again, the claim of the supreme appellate ecclesiastical jurisdiction involved in the appointment of the "Court of Delegates" had also been attempted by Henry II. William I had

Gee and Hardy, p. 225. 2 Quoted in Church and Faith, p. 450.

³ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 139, Records, No. 42.

⁴ Cf. Stubbs' Select Charters, vol. i. pp. 82 and 139-40.

definitely forbidden the clergy in Convocation to enact canons without his previous consent, while, even for the new law to appoint and consecrate bishops without Papal bulls or consent, there could have been found precedents in Anglo-Saxon times.

We must also bear in mind that even anti-ecclesiastical legislation was welcomed at this time, owing to the wealth, immunities, and oppressive exactions of the clergy; so that the rejection of the Pope's authority and jurisdiction was by no means unpopular. Bishop Tunstall informed Cardinal Pole in 1536 that he was mistaken in asserting the Act to be contrary to the wishes of the people, adding that "If the King at this day should go about to renew in his realm the abolished authority of the Bishop of Rome, I think he would find much more difficulty to bring it about in his Parliament and to induce his people to agree thereunto than anything that he ever purposed." ²

Before this famous Parliament finally concluded its sittings the succession to the Crown was settled on the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and all persons were required, under penalty of treason,

to swear that they would maintain this Act.

More impartial treatment was also obtained for heretics, who were in future to be proceeded against in open court on the testimony of at least two witnesses, and if found guilty and refusing to abjure, were to be condemned to death under the King's writ de haeretico comburendo, but they were not to be

troubled for speaking against the Pope's canons or laws.

In June 1534 the King had issued a proclamation "abolishing the usurped power of the Pope," while some months previously the Convocations of Canterbury and York had officially declared "that the Bishop of Rome hath not in Scripture any greater jurisdiction in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop." In case, however, any persons should presume to question the propriety of Henry's supremacy an outrageous "Treason Act" was passed, by which those who *imagined* any harm to the King or even *wished* to deprive him of any title were adjudged guilty of high treason.⁴

By such Acts this subservient Parliament smoothed the way for the era of royal tyranny and despotism which was so soon to

follow.

¹ Stubbs' Select Charters, vol. i. pp. 82 and 139-40.

² Burnet, vol. vi. p. 152, Records, No. 52. ³ Gee and Hardy, p. 252. ⁴ Ibid., p. 248.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMERS

THE mortal struggle between Henry and the Pope, which had now been brought to such a momentous conclusion, materially if indirectly aided the cause of those who were looking, not merely, like Henry VIII, for the overthrow of the Pope's temporal jurisdiction in England, but for a real spiritual reformation which should sweep away the doctrinal errors and abuses of medieval Christianity. The ecclesiastical independence secured by the legal separation of the English Church from Rome rendered it possible for a reform of this kind to be undertaken without reference to the opinions or regard for the censures of the

Apostolic See.

As early as 1521 the writings of Martin Luther, who, in 1517, had fearlessly exposed the abuses of the medieval Church by his famous ninety-five *Theses*, had been freely circulated in England. Thus the small company of obscure Lollard "heretics" were being rapidly reinforced by numbers of the learned and influential, who by imbibing Lutheran opinions soon began to dissent from much of the current orthodox teaching and practice. "It was incredible to see, how men, notwithstanding all the opposition the princes everywhere made to the progress of these reputed new opinions, were generally inclined to these doctrines. . . . The laity, that had long looked on their pastors with an evil eye, did receive these opinions very easily; which did both discover the impostures with which the world had been abused and showed a plain and simple way to the Kingdom of Heaven by putting the Scriptures into their hands." 1

Luther had insisted on the unique importance of the Scriptures, contending that the soul could do without everything except the Word of God, "without which none at all of its wants are provided for." At a time when it was generally believed that all grace

Burnet, vol. i. p. 41.

Luther's Primary Works (Wace and Bucheim), p. 258.

and salvation were obtained through the sacramental and penitential systems of the Church, we can scarcely imagine what a revolution in religious thought must have been effected by Luther's cardinal tenet of "justification by faith alone," and his forcible insistence on the novel theory of the priesthood of all believers. All Christians, he asserted, were "equally priests and had the same power in the Word and in any sacrament whatever," although "it was not lawful for anyone to use this power, except with the consent of the community or at the call of a superior." An injustice had been done by limiting the word "priest" to those few called "ecclesiastics," for Holy Scripture made no distinction between Christians, "except that those who are now boastfully called popes, bishops, and lords, it calls ministers, servants, and stewards, who are to serve the rest in the ministry of the Word."

As early as 1521 Luther's writings seem to have made a distinct impression on our universities, for Archbishop Warham wrote in that year to Cardinal Wolsey earnestly beseeching him to take prompt action to put down heresy at Oxford, "for if sharpness be not used now in this land, many one shall be right bold to do ill." Wolsey was, however, personally disinclined to proceed to extreme measures, and he therefore contented himself with publicly burning a number of Lutheran publications.

But although accelerated and largely influenced by the movement in Germany, the English Reformation was by no means dependent on the teachings of Luther or of any of the foreign

Reformers.

Even before the writings of the celebrated Wittenberg monk had reached England, three young Cambridge scholars, Tyndale, Bilney, and Fryth, were earnestly engaged in studying Erasmus's Greek Testament, and in imparting its precious truths to others. William Tyndale, a Gloucestershire man of good family, was in all probability the "certain well-informed young man" who in 1516 "began to lecture with success on Greek literature at Oxford." Shortly after this he migrated to Cambridge, and in 1520 accepted the post of tutor to Sir John Walsh's family at Little Sodbury. While here he soon became suspected of heretical leanings by his constant appeal to the Scriptures. To one learned divine who had rashly asserted that "we were best without God's laws than the Pope's," Tyndale exclaimed, "I defy

¹ Luther's *Primary Works*, pp. 267-70, 399. ⁸ Erasmus, *Ep.*, p. 346.

the Pope and all his laws, and if God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of

the Scripture than thou dost."1

To carry out this resolve now became his main object. "Because I had perceived by experience," he says, "how that it was impossible to establish the lay-people in any truth, except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text." 2 Finding it dangerous to remain in Gloucestershire, and failing to obtain the patronage of Bishop Tunstall, the scholarly and liberally-minded friend of Erasmus, Tyndale was hospitably received by a wealthy London merchant, named Humphrey Monmouth, a generous patron of all scholars, and a secret sympathiser with reforming views. While here he commenced the translation of the New Testament. But the energetic measures which were soon taken for the suppression of "heretics," obliged Tyndale in 1524 to seek an asylum on the Continent; for "I understood," he says, "at the last not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England." 3

Tyndale landed in Hamburg, and probably from there visited Wittenberg, and apparently soon after sent over the first two Gospels to England.⁴ When the translation was almost completed he removed to Cologne, but the nature of his task being discovered, he had great difficulty in escaping with his precious partly printed Testaments and manuscripts to Worms. In 1525 the first edition of the printed English New Testament, hidden in bales of merchandise, was smuggled into England, and it was followed in the same year by a quarto edition, containing a doctrinal treatise and marginal notes. Henry immediately put forth a proclamation ordering Tyndale's New Testaments to be burned as "untrue translations," "for the advancement and setting forth of Luther's abominable heresies!" Accordingly Archbishop Warham strictly enjoined his suffragans to make diligent search for any copies which might have been circulated.

But in spite of these stringent precautions numbers of Tyndale's New Testaments had apparently already been clandestinely

dispersed, for even before this order Bishop Tunstall had informed his archdeacons that this translation of the New Testa-

¹ Tyndale's Doctrinal Treatises, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

² Ibid., p. 394. ⁴ Cf. ibid., p. 27.

ment into the English tongue was mixed with "many heretical articles and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people," and that this "pestiferous and most pernicious poison" was "dispersed throughout all our diocese in

great numbers." 1

Archbishop Warham and Bishop Tunstall spent large sums of money in purchasing and solemnly burning these New Testaments, and this peculiarly shortsighted method of arresting their circulation merely furnished Tyndale with funds to issue several fresh editions, and also commence a new and thorough revision, which was published in 1534. He had also begun a translation of the Old Testament, and the Pentateuch was published in

1530.

That Tyndale's translation, the first ever made into English from the original Hebrew and Greek, was the work of a man of profound learning is evident from the fact that it has stood the test of modern scholarship and research, and is substantially the same as the one now in use. Thus the allegations made by Henry and the bishops that it was "untrue" or "wilfully perverted" were grossly unjust, and merely served as a pretext for the condemnation of the Scriptures in the vernacular.² A distinguished authority has stated: "In rendering the sacred text, Tyndale remained throughout faithful to the instincts of a scholar. From first to last his style and his interpretation are his own, and in the originality of Tyndale is included in a large measure the originality of our English version." 3 We can, therefore, only deplore the prejudice and partiality of a modern historian who apparently endorses Sir T. More's opinion that Tyndale's New Testament "was a mischievous perversion of those (sacred) writings, intended to advance heretical opinions," 4 because in it the familiar words, "church," "priests," and

1 Tyndale's Doctrinal Treatises, p. 32.

³ Bishop Westcott, quoted in Lovett, *The Printed English Bible*, p. 35.
⁴ Gairdner, *English Church in Sixteenth Century*, p. 190. Professor Pollard well remarks, "If a knowledge of the Scriptures tended to make men heretics, that was the fault of the Church" (*Life of Cranmer*, p. 110, note).

² Bishop Latimer aptly retorted to an opponent, "You say you condemn not the Scriptures, but Tyndale's translation. Therein you show yourself contrary to your words, for ye have condemned it in all other common tongues, wherein they be approved in other countries. So that it is plain that it is the Scriptures and not the translation that ye bark against, calling it new learning."—Latimer's Remains, p. 320.

"charity" were more correctly translated from the Greek as

"congregation," "elders" and "love"!

Tyndale's New Testaments, which were widely circulated and eagerly read, were also being supplemented by his doctrinal treatises, which not only expounded the truths specially emphasized by the Reformers, but assailed in bold and even bitter language the accepted teaching and practice of the medieval Church.

But Sir T. More, whose zeal for current orthodoxy led him to undertake the task of refuting these "new opinions," soon proved himself a controversialist equally scathing and acrimonious. He commenced his attack by condemning the distinctive opinions of the Reformers, defending the practice of burning heretics, and discrediting Tyndale's translation of the Scriptures. He also charged Tyndale with Antinomianism, on account of his strong insistence on the doctrine of Justification by Faith, although Tyndale had carefully explained the relation of works to faith. "If any man ask me, seeing that faith justifieth me, why I work, I answer 'Love compelleth me.' For as long as my soul feeleth what God hath shewed me in Christ, I cannot but love God again, and His will and commandments, and of love work them." 1

Tyndale replied by carefully tracing the origin and gradual abuse of most of the ceremonies and customs then practised. He was willing to concede a legitimate use of images, relics, and pilgrimages. "To kneel before the cross unto the Word of God, which the cross preacheth, is not evil. . . . But to believe that God will be sought more in one place than in another, or that God will hear thee more where the image is than where it is not, is a false faith and idolatry." He strongly repudiated the doctrine of transubstantiation. "It is not Christ's very body, as they would make thee believe, in the bread, in so many places at once. But the bread, broken and eaten in the Supper, nourisheth and putteth us in remembrance of His death, and so exciteth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise, for the benefit of our redemption, and thus we have there Christ present, in the inward eye and sight of our faith. We eat His body and drink His blood; that is, we believe surely that His body was crucified for our sins, and His blood shed for our salvation."3

More, in his Confutation of this reply, condemns the Reformers in most violent language as those "who would seem

² Tyndale's Answer to More, pp. 60-2. 1 Doctrinal Treatises, p. 418. ⁸ Ibid., p. 236.

Christ's apostles and play the devil's dicers; speaking much of the Spirit, with no more devotion than dogs," but he is forced to admit that no dangers seem to hinder them printing their books and "sending them hither by whole vats full at once." 1

Strenuous efforts were put forth by the bishops to prevent the growth of heresy, and a determined attempt was made to deal with those secretly disseminating this new teaching at the universities. Garret, a curate of a City church, and Dalaber had undertaken the perilous task of circulating Tyndale's New Testament and other reforming publications at Oxford, with the result that quite a number of the students, especially at Cardinal College, were affected with "Lutheranism." The Warden of New College described them as the "most towardly young men in the university," while Warham wrote in alarm that "One or two cankered members have induced no small number of young and incircumspect fools to give ear unto them," 3 and he obliged Wolsey, who had himself specially selected the majority of these Lutheran sympathisers from a number of scholarly Cambridge men to be canons of his new college, to issue orders for their arrest as suspected heretics. Garret was seized and imprisoned, but afterwards managed to escape. A number of others, amongst whom were John Clarke, Richard Cox, Geoffrey Harman, Robert Ferrar and John Fryth, were condemned, and compelled to bear a faggot in solemn procession to furnish a bonfire for their heretical books. Four of them died from the effects of their prolonged imprisonment in a dark, unhealthy cellar, in consequence of which the rest were liberated, and Fryth joined Tyndale on the Continent.

The Reformers were even stronger at Cambridge. The enthusiastic preaching of Bilney and Fryth had won over many converts to the "new" doctrines. Bilney, a man of deep piety and learning, had endeavoured, in vain, to find spiritual satisfaction in the vigils, fasts, masses and indulgences prescribed for him by the priests, and it was only on reading Erasmus's New Testament that St. Paul's statement "that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief," at length brought peace to his troubled conscience. "This one sentence

1 Doctrinal Treatises, p. lii.

² Recently founded by Wolsey on a magnificent scale from the revenues of certain suppressed monasteries.

³ Cf. Headlam, Oxford, p. 300 (Medieval Towns), and Foxe, vol. v. pp. 5 and 428.

⁴ I Tim. i. 15.

did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness." 1 By the earnestness of his testimony he soon influenced a number of others to join him in diligently studying the Scriptures. But this enthusiasm for the Scriptures soon brought him into conflict with Hugh Latimer, a rising young scholar, who afterwards described himself as being then "as obstinate a Papist as any in England." 2 Latimer in his zeal for the authority and teaching of the Church, denounced the "new opinions" in no measured terms, and Bilney, recognising him to be one of the foremost champions of medieval theology, determined to make an attempt to convince him of his error in denouncing the study of the Scriptures. Accordingly, under the plea of asking him to hear his confession, Bilney related to Latimer the story of his own spiritual experience, with the result that "from that time forward I began," says Latimer, "to smell the word of God, and forsook the school-doctors and such fooleries." This sudden change of front was a most welcome accession of strength to the Reformers, for Latimer's graphic and forcible style of preaching soon became most popular, and he no longer taught that peace and pardon were to be sought in implicit obedience to the Church's laborious system of fasts, penances, and pilgrimages, but in humble reliance on the atoning merits of Christ's death. He so vigorously denounced the vices and superstitions of the time that one of his hearers declared, "He spake nothing but it left, as it were, certain pricks or stings in the hearts of the hearers, which moved them to consent to his doctrine. None except the stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart went away from his sermons which were not led with a faithful repentance of their former life, detestation of sin, and moved into all godliness and virtue." 4

This fearless and faithful preaching soon incurred the suspicion and animosity of the Bishop of Ely, who inhibited Latimer from preaching in his diocese. Shortly afterwards, owing to a violent sermon preached by Dr. Barnes 5 against the bishops and clergy, the Cambridge Reformers were summoned to London to answer for their views before the all-powerful Cardinal. Barnes at first resolutely refused to abjure his teaching, but the fear of the stake at length overcame him, and he made a full recantation.

Foxe, vol. iv. p. 635.
 Latimer's Sermons, p. 334.
 Works of Becon: Catechism, etc., p. 425.
 He was the able but polemical, prior of the Augustine Friars.

Latimer was also charged with heresy, but after a careful examination the Cardinal not only discharged him, but granted him a license to preach throughout England, and in 1530 he was appointed one of the King's chaplains. Bilney was induced to promise on oath that he would always preach against Luther's opinions. But the shame of having thus violated his conscience led him, shortly after his return to Cambridge, to commence, in company with his friend Arthur, earnest evangelistic preaching in the Eastern Counties, in which he denounced pilgrimages, the worship of saints, and the veneration of relics. They were both soon arrested, and in November 1527, condemned as heretics. Arthur was soon induced to submit, but it was only due to the strong persuasions and kindly forbearance of Bishop Tunstall, who managed the trial, that Bilney at last consented to sign a full recantation, and after going through the prescribed degradation of a public procession to St. Paul's, was once more set at liberty. He went back to Cambridge for another three years, but the recollection of his unfaithfulness in his hour of trial so tortured him that at length he returned to his native county of Norfolk, and recommenced earnestly proclaiming the doctrines he had abjured. He was again apprehended, and condemned as a relapsed heretic by the Bishop of Norwich, and as he firmly resisted all efforts to induce him once more to abjure his opinions, he patiently met a martyr's death at Norwich in 1531. More asserted that he again recanted at the stake, but this calumny was indignantly denied by Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present at his execution.

It was about this time that a lawyer, named Simon Fish, published a subtle attack on the doctrine of purgatory, one of the main bulwarks of medieval theology, in a pamphlet entitled the Supplication of Beggars. Fish portrayed the lamentable condition of a number of poor, sick, and impotent beggars who were unable to obtain alms on account of the army of monks and mass priests, "another sort of counterfeit holy and idle beggars and vagabonds," who, under the pretext of delivering souls from purgatory, appropriated all the charitable offerings of the people. He prayed the King to "set these sturdy loobies abroad in the world to take them wives of their own, to get their living by the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God." 1

¹ Foxe, vol. iv. pp. 658-664.

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The rapid dissemination of books of this kind led Bishop Tunstall to invite Sir T. More, as "the keenest champion of Catholic truth," to put forth "in our own language something to expose to simple and unlearned men the crafty malignity of the heretics." In answer to this appeal, More published the Supplication of Souls, in which he depicted the terror of the souls in purgatory lest Christian people should cease to pray and give alms for their release from suffering. He railed at Luther, accused Tyndale of wilfully mistranslating his New Testament, and endeavoured to find a Scriptural basis for the doctrine of purgatory. He also issued, as Lord Chancellor, a fierce proclamation, ordering the diligent suppression of heretical books, and advocating a persecuting policy, completely contradictory to the enlightened and tolerant principles he had previously enunciated in his Utopia.

His treatise in defence of purgatory was answered in a learned and temperate style by John Fryth, who asserted that purgatory could not be proved by Scripture, and was not required on account of any defect of our repentance in this life, because "our sins were not pardoned for our repentance or the perfection of it, but only for the merits and sufferings of Christ; and that if our repentance is sincere, God accepts of it; and sin, being once pardoned, could not be further punished." Shortly afterwards, Fryth, whom the Chancellor had unjustly imprisoned in the Tower, wrote, without the aid of books, an able and masterly

reply to More's criticisms of his views on the Eucharist.

He showed that the Fathers rejected the medieval doctrine of transubstantiation, and challenged More to prove from their writings that the Sacrament should be worshipped, a practice which he calls "plain idolatry." "There is none of the old Fathers, but they call it a Sacrament, a mystery, mystical meat, which is not eaten with tooth and belly, but with ears and faith.

. Therefore it followeth that they took not the text after the letter, but only spiritually." He adopted the liberal and charitable attitude that this highly controversial doctrine should not be made a necessary article of faith, but be left "indifferent for every man to judge therein, as God shall open his heart; and no side to condemn the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love, and to bear others' infirmities." He, himself, promised

¹ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 9, *Records*, No. 6. ² *Cf.* Burnet, vol. i. p. 213. ³ Fryth's Works, pp. 151 and 170 (1573).

to abstain from writing against the received view of the Sacrament, if his opponents would only allow that it ought not to be

worshipped.

It was not to be expected that this principle, so entirely out of harmony with the intolerant spirit of the age, would be accepted, and thus, in July 1533, Fryth was burned as a heretic at Smithfield for holding opinions which he had never even publicly taught.

The majority of these early Reformers, it must be confessed, did not remain thus firm in the face of persecution. Several, however, even though the prospect of a horrible death temporarily shook their resolution, remained in the end staunch to their convictions. One of the most noteworthy of these early martyrs, Thomas Hitton, a secret disseminator of Tyndale's New Testament, whom Sir Thomas More describes as "the devil's stinking martyr," was burned as a heretic at Maidstone in 1530. Another, Richard Bayfield, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, who had been instructed by Barnes, was burnt at Smithfield in November 1531. James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, who had been accused of heresy for declaring that "Christ's body was not chewed with the teeth, but received by faith," was personally examined by More, and induced, apparently owing to the cruel treatment he received, to abjure and do penance. He soon, however, repented, and made a public confession of his unfaithfulness, which caused him to be again apprehended and burnt at Smithfield in April 1532.

In 1535, Tyndale, who had long succeeded in eluding the vigilance of his persecutors, was at length betrayed by a secret agent of Henry's and thrown into prison. A year later he was condemned as a heretic and burned at Vilvorden. It was in vain, however, to burn the "heretics," when the most fruitful source of "heresy" had already been publicly sanctioned, for it has been well observed that the "Reformation in England, was, perhaps, to a greater extent than that on the Continent. effected by the Word of God." 2 The great aim of the English Reformers was to disseminate the Scriptures amongst the people, in order that they might there discover for themselves the true teaching of Christ and His Apostles. Tyndale's dying prayer had been that "God would open the King of England's eyes," and in regard to the free circulation of the Scriptures, it was soon to be answered. For although Henry had severely condemned Tyndale's Testament, he had at the same time ordered the bishops

¹ Cf. Foxe, vol. iv. p. 698. ² D'Aubigné, ut supra, vol. v. p. 149.

to prepare a true translation. They showed, however, no anxiety to carry out this order, and Cranmer, who was most anxious for an English Bible, informed Cromwell that he thought this translation would not be forthcoming "till the day after Doomsday." Accordingly, both Cranmer and Cromwell had been secretly aiding Miles Coverdale to complete a translation he was engaged on in conjunction with Tyndale. This appeared in 1535, and soon after received a royal license, but being derived mainly from the Vulgate and Luther's German translation, was in point of scholarship far inferior to Tyndale's. Again, in 1537, "Matthew's" Bible appeared. This was a translation made by John Rogers, the proto-martyr of Queen Mary's reign, and was practically Tyndale's work, with the exception of the latter part of the Old Testament, which was borrowed from Coverdale. It was dedicated to the King, and Cranmer wrote to Cromwell. urging him to obtain the Royal license, that "it might be sold and read of every person without danger," saying that "he liked it better than any other translation heretofore made."2 Cranmer's great delight, Henry's sanction was obtained, and a royal injunction was issued, ordering "every parson or proprietary of any parish church . . . to provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin and English, and lay the same in the quire for every man that will to look and read therein." 3 Thus the translation of Tyndale, the persecuted "heretic," was now authorised to be read publicly throughout the realm. "It was wonderful," says Strype, "to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learneder sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over."4

We must carefully bear in mind that the cause of the Reformers had been materially aided by Henry's divorce from Catharine, for Anne Boleyn openly encouraged and protected those who favoured the "new opinions," and it was through her influence that Latimer and Shaxton were appointed to the Sees of Worcester and Salisbury. Cromwell, also, zealously furthered their interests, while the Primate himself was rapidly becoming more sympathetic with those who were advocating a thorough

doctrinal reformation.

¹ Stubbs, Historical Appendix, iv. pp. 78-9.

² Cranmer's Works, ii. p. 344. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 206, Records, No. 7. Life of Cranmer, vol. i. p. 92.

CHAPTER VII

DESPOTISM

It was but natural that Henry's new title of "Supreme Head of the Church" should meet with serious opposition from all those who conscientiously believed it to conflict with the spiritual claims and authority of the Pope, which up till this time had been almost universally recognised. But fortified by the recent stringent and tyrannical acts passed by Parliament, he determined to crush all opposition by creating a virtual reign of terror

for all those who dared to oppose his will.

Among the first of these victims was the unfortunate nun Elizabeth Barton, who acquired great fame as the "Holy Maid of Kent." She was subject to hysterical fits, during which she was supposed to have visions and revelations. Possessing also a reputation for great sanctity, she was patronised and consulted as a prophetess by many, even of the learned and influential, to whom she declared the will of God, "chiefly concerning the King's marriage, the great heresies and schisms within the realm. and the taking away the liberties of the Church." Thus, under the influence of these trances, she declared that Henry would die a villain's death within a month, if he divorced Catharine, and that she had seen the very place in hell which was prepared for him.² These alarming predictions were even supposed to have materially influenced Archbishop Warham, and were certainly credited by Bishop Fisher, who had several interviews with her.3 Consequently she was examined by Cranmer and Cromwell, and it was soon discovered that she was merely an impostor who had been made the dupe and victim of a political plot, for which she and her accomplices were attainted of treason and hanged at Tyburn. Fisher was fined £300, and Sir T. More, who had also been in communication with the nun, barely escaped punish-

⁸ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 157, Records, No. 49.

¹ Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 273.

² Cf. Burnet, vol. i. pp. 199-202, and Gairdner, ut supra, p. 144.

ment. Both these distinguished men were known to be strongly opposed to the divorce of Catharine, and Henry soon discovered means for making them feel the weight of his displeasure.

The Act of Succession had required all persons to swear to uphold the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and a form of oath to this effect was now offered to both More and Fisher. They were both willing to swear to the succession which had been determined by Parliament, but refused to take this particular oath, which required them to defend the Act of Succession, the preamble of which distinctly declared Henry's marriage with Catharine unlawful. Not even the arguments and entreaties of Cranmer and Cromwell could induce them to yield this tacit acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy. Cranmer earnestly petitioned that they might be allowed simply to swear to the succession, 1 but Henry was obdurate, and they were both sent to the Tower, where Fisher, who was an old man, was treated with much severity, They were then indicted under the infamous "Treasons Act" (p. 34), by which even "malicious silence" was regarded as a capital crime. Fisher had during his imprisonment further irritated Henry by accepting a cardinal's hat from the Pope, and as he had spoken on several occasions against the Supremacy he was condemned and beheaded on June 22, 1535. "This is life eternal," exclaimed the pious old prelate, who was justly reputed one of the most learned men of the age, "to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."2

On July 6, More followed him to the scaffold, his very refusal to express his opinion on the Supremacy being made the ground of his condemnation. His wit remained with him to the last, for, requesting the assistance of the lieutenant to ascend the scaffold, he said, "I pray thee see me safely up, and for my

coming down let me shift for myself." 3

The execution of two such prominent men was undoubtedly designed to terrorise others into accepting the Royal Supremacy; but the "Treasons Act" had already reaped a harvest of victims from the monks of Charterhouse, who resolutely refused to acknowledge Henry's new title. As many as ten suffered the extreme penalty of the law, while nine others died in prison. Even the Princess Mary was not exempt from persecution, and Henry, besides forcing her to acknowledge his supremacy over

¹ Cf. Strype, Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 261; Appendix, No. xi.

Fuller, Church Hist., vol. ii. p. 62 (1837).
Dict. Nat. Biog., vol. xxxviii. p. 439.

the Church, deprived her of the title of Princess, and was unnatural enough to compel her to declare that "the marriage between his majesty and my mother, the late princess dowager, was by God's law and man's law incestuous and unlawful." 1

The execution of a cardinal and a distinguished layman merely for their conscientious and courageous defence of Papal authority naturally created a strong feeling of resentment throughout Europe. The new Pope, Paul III., rashly passed a sentence of excommunication against Henry, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and called on all Christian kings to depose him.

Meanwhile an opponent, whose opinions carried great weight, appeared in Reginald Pole, a man of royal blood, a relative and favourite of Henry, who had been a wealthy pluralist before he was nineteen. Intellectually one of the ablest men of the day, he now published a book in Defence of the Unity of the Church, calling on the Emperor to make war on Henry as the enemy of Christendom. He boldly denounced the execution of More and Fisher as an atrocious crime, and the whole treatise was so cleverly and powerfully written that it is not surprising that Henry endeavoured to persuade his formidable antagonist to return to England to his neglected deanery, when he would no doubt have soon found effective means of silencing him. Pole, however, preferred to remain in Italy, and the Pope soon rewarded him with a cardinal's hat. Bishop Tunstall, replying to Pole, indignantly denied that Henry by adopting the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England had swerved from the unity of Christ's Church, "for his purpose and intent is to see Christ's Faith without blot kept and observed in his realm, and not to separate himself or his realm in any wise from the unity of Christ's Catholic Church, but to reduce his Church of England out of all captivity of foreign powers, and to abolish such usurpations as heretofore the Bishops of Rome have, by many undue means, increased to their great advantage." 2

Gardiner, now Bishop of Winchester, in his book On True Obedience, also vigorously defended the justice of Henry's new title, and claimed for him almost unlimited powers over the Church. The King is, he says, "a prince of his whole people, not of part of it, and he governs them in all things, not in some only; and as the people constitute the Church in England, so he must needs be the supreme head of the Church as he is the

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 271.

² Ibid., vol. vi. p. 140, Records, No. 52.

supreme head of the people." It was no new thing, "but a power which of divine right belonged to the Prince." These Erastian views were also strenuously advocated by such prominent

Churchmen as Dean Sampson and Archdeacon Bonner.

It was at this time (1535) that Henry gave a practical illustration of his interpretation of the powers inherent in his new title by appointing Cromwell his Vicar-General in ecclesiastical By virtue of this office, Cromwell, or those appointed by him, were given full power "to treat and examine all causes ecclesiastical," even to the punishment or removal of culpable archbishops or bishops, who, during this thorough visitation of all churches, were suspended from exercising their lawful jurisdiction.3 But revolutionary as these claims appear in theory, it would be a mistake to suppose that in practice Henry ever seriously invaded the distinctively spiritual powers of the clergy. He certainly desired to exercise to the full those rights of jurisdiction over the English Church which had hitherto been enjoyed by the Pope, and he was determined that all estates, whether ecclesiastical or civil, should recognise him as the "fountain and source" of all authority within his realm. Thus Cranmer was described as "the principal minister of our spiritual jurisdiction," but, although "he claimed to control the machine, he did not pretend to supply the motive power."4 This subordination of the Church to the State was, however, in reality but the culmination and natural outcome of the struggle for supremacy between the civil and ecclesiastical powers which had been going on for centuries, and of which the quarrels between Henry II and Becket, and Edward I and Archbishop Winchilsea, serve as notable illustrations.

It is at least certain that the clergy, by acknowledging Henry's supremacy, had no intention of ascribing to him any real spiritual prerogatives. Cranmer, who was most subservient to royal authority, carefully explained his interpretation of Henry's claims. "Christ," he declared at his trial, "is the only Head of His Church and of the faith and religion of the same. The King is head and governor of his people, which are the visible Church,"

1 Brown, Appen. ad Fasciculum, pp. 808-811 (1690).

4 Pollard, Cranmer, p. 84.

² Gardiner's zeal even led him to protest against Cranmer styling himself "Primate of all England," because it was a high reflection upon the King and detracted much from his supremacy.—Strype's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 47.

³ Collier, vol. ix., Records, Nos. xxx. and xxxi.

"and in the publication of Henry's style, wherein he was named Supreme Head of the Church, there was never other thing meant." 1

The supreme powers with which Cromwell had been invested were soon put into execution, and in the autumn of 1535 the first visitation of the monasteries took place. Henry was in great need of money, and there was a real danger lest the Emperor should attempt to enforce against him the censures of the Apostolic See, in which case the rich revenues of the monasteries would furnish a welcome source for the provision of an adequate defence against invasion. It would, therefore, be idle to deny that the visitation was conducted mainly with the view of establishing a case against the monasteries which would warrant Parliament in suppressing them. The visitors were most of them men whose characters were not above the suspicion of venality, or even crime. They all freely received bribes, and the most disgraceful methods were sometimes employed to obtain satisfactory accusations against many of the houses. The few months which sufficed to accomplish this first visitation furnishes sufficient evidence that the powerful indictment which the report of the visitors contained could not have been the result of a very thorough or searching investigation. But, in spite of the partiality of the report, there is little doubt that very numerous cases of serious corruption and immorality existed, and that a strict observance of the rules of the religious houses was the exception rather than the rule. For we must remember that before this time monasteries had often been suppressed and condemned by both Popes and prelates. Bishop Fisher had actively promoted the suppression of several monasteries because of the dissolute lives of the monks, and in 1489, on account of their degenerate state. Innocent VIII had specially empowered Cardinal Morton to visit all the English monasteries. At St. Albans, one of the richest and most powerful abbeys in the kingdom, not only were the religious services neglected and the monks guilty of all kinds of vice and sin, but the Abbot himself was charged with encouraging this licentiousness and persecuting all those disposed to live piously.² If such was the state of one of the most ancient and reputable of the monasteries on the testimony of the Primate. it is not surprising if Henry's visitors should have found many of the smaller institutions in little better condition. In many houses

1 Cranmer's Works, vol, ii. p. 224.

² Cf. Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. pp. 630, 632.

where the discipline was lax, the inmates preferred suppression to submission to the severe and searching instructions or injunctions of the visitors. Many also who had taken their vows under compulsion, or at a very early age, earnestly pleaded to be set at liberty.¹

As a result of the visitation, an Act was passed in February 1536, for the suppression of all the smaller houses of a yearly income of £200 and under. The Act, while declaring the abuses, "the unthrifty, carnal and abominable living," of which these smaller institutions had been guilty, also expressly stated that "there were divers great solemn monasteries in which religion was well kept and observed." By another Act a special "Court of Augmentation" was appointed to collect and administer the revenues of these 376 suppressed houses, and also to determine the pensions for those who were dispossessed.

It is impossible to suppose that Parliament would have sanctioned such drastic action, if there had not been a large

foundation of fact in the report of the visitors.

With this summary destruction of the smaller monasteries, it was most unlikely that the more wealthy and important ones would long remain inviolable. Bishop Stokesley probably expressed the prevalent sentiment when he declared that "these lesser houses were as thorns, soon plucked up, but the great abbots were like putrefied old oaks; yet they mus tneeds follow, and so would others do in Christendom before many years were passed." 3 The monasteries had, in fact, outlived their day. They were no longer, as formerly, havens of refuge for those desiring to lead holy lives in a semi-barbarous age, nor were the monks still the leaders of learning or even of scientific agriculture. Again, the masses for souls in purgatory, which had been the main object of the foundation of many houses, fostered a doctrine which, with the rise of the Reformers, was being seriously questioned and largely discredited. Monasteries were also usually the nurseries of superstition, as the feigned miracles which had excited the sarcasm and contempt of Erasmus were nearly always encouraged by the monks. Their abuse of the rights of sanctuary was justly complained of as affording protection for criminals of the worst kind, while even their just fame for hospitality and almsgiving often tended by its indiscriminate method to create a wandering pauper class.

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 249. ² Gee and Hardy, p. 258. ³ Burnet, vol. i. p. 253.

But however unnecessary or harmful their continued existence may have been, it is little wonder that the unjustifiable methods employed in their rapid dissolution should have occasioned great discontent, which would naturally be fanned into a flame by the army of monks, nuns, and friars, who, even though they received small pensions, were thus suddenly forced to face an entirely new and probably unwelcome life, for which their previous training had utterly unfitted them. Not only were the revenues of the monasteries confiscated by the King, but priceless manuscripts were destroyed, and the churches and cloisters ruthlessly demolished. Although we must bear in mind that for the maintenance of Henry's ecclesiastical position the dissolution of the monasteries was practically essential, as the existence of some six hundred virtually independent corporate societies, scattered throughout the land, secretly working for the restoration of Papal authority, would not only have seriously endangered his ecclesiastical settlement, but would also have rendered any further attempt at reformation futile; yet, as Hallam justly remarks, "it is impossible to feel too much indignation at the spirit in which Henry conducted these proceedings." 1

The discontent occasioned by the suppression of these lesser monasteries was further aggravated by the issue, in 1536, of certain Injunctions condemning pilgrimages and the extolling of images and relics, and laying fresh financial burdens on the parish priests.2 The first sign of actual rebellion occurred in October 1536, in Lincolnshire. The rebels complained of the suppression of the religious houses, and of "certain bishops who were subverting the faith, and of the counsellors of mean birth who advised the King." This rising was soon subdued, but a far more serious outbreak, styled the "Pilgrimage of Grace," occurred in the North, under the leadership of a gentleman named Robert Aske. The rebels succeeded in capturing York and Hull, and became so formidable that Henry was forced to offer a general pardon, and promise to call a Parliament to consider their grievances. A second rebellion, which broke out shortly after, was, however, easily quelled, and led to the execution of several of the insurgent leaders and followers, amongst whom were twelve abbots and a number of

As several of the greater abbeys had been guilty of assisting

¹ Hallam, Constitutional History, p. 67 (World's Library). ² Cf. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 203, Records, No. 7.

the rebels, an excellent pretext was obtained for a thorough visitation of all the remaining religious houses, which took place in 1537. Several were convicted of grave irregularities, and were glad to surrender their houses and obtain a life pension; others had been implicated in the rebellion, and so found it safer to make a voluntary surrender to avoid punishment. Thus, by 1540, either through fear or force, practically all the monasteries had "surrendered," or been dissolved, and in the case of some of the richest houses, where no disorders could be discovered, the abbots were attainted of treason and executed, and their houses arbitrarily regarded as forfeit to the Crown.

Altogether just over six hundred monasteries, besides "hospitals" and "colleges," were despoiled, pouring "in an instant such a torrent of wealth upon the Crown as has seldom been equalled in any country by the confiscations following a subdued rebellion." 1 On the lowest estimate the yearly value alone, apart from the value of movable property, amounted to £,131,607 (equivalent to quite twelve times this sum to-day).

It appears 2 that Henry had designed to establish eighteen bishoprics and cathedrals out of the proceeds of the spoil, but in the end only six fresh sees were founded,3 one of which (Westminster) only lasted for ten years. A few old monasteries were converted into collegiate churches, some grammar schools were founded, and St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's Hospitals were maintained for the benefit of the poor.4 The rest of this enormous revenue was either squandered by Henry or found its way into the pockets of greedy courtiers, serving as an effective means of procuring their acquiescence in Henry's despotic proceedings. For it must not be forgotten that the grant of a large part of this monastic property to the rising families of the nobility and gentry created a new and powerful class materially interested to maintain the separation of the Church from Rome.

In 1536 Henry was again in matrimonial difficulties, as the charms of Jane Seymour, another youthful beauty, led to the divorce of Anne Boleyn on the charge of unfaithfulness. The reasons which led Convocation to ratify the divorce are not

¹ Hallam, ut supra, p. 67.

² Cf. Burnet, vol. i. pp. 339 and 347.
³ The new sees were Westminster, Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Peterborough.

⁴ In 1540 several Regius Professorships were also founded at both Universities.

known, but it has been conjectured that Henry's previous illicit relations with her sister, Mary Boleyn, were regarded as creating a canonical bar to the union. The unfortunate Queen was condemned to death for adultery, and beheaded on May 19, 1536, and only eleven days later Henry married Jane Seymour. Within sixteen months, however, he was again in trouble, as she died nine days after the birth of the future King Edward VI. Henry managed to remain a widower for three years, but in 1540 Cromwell persuaded him to take a Lutheran princess, Anne of Cleves, as his fourth wife. Cromwell undoubtedly desired by this alliance to advance the cause of the Reformation, as well as to enhance his own credit and influence, but the experiment proved a dismal failure, and was the immediate cause of his downfall. For Henry conceived a violent dislike to his new bride, declaring that she was a "Flanders mare," and had already fallen a victim to the charms of Katharine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk. Accordingly, Bishop Gardiner proposed to Convocation that the marriage was null and void; and on the grounds of a supposed pre-contract and a want of inward consent on Henry's part, this disgraceful proposition was agreed to by both Houses of Convocation, the fear of the King's displeasure sealing even Cranmer's lips against such flagrant injustice, which was, as Burnet remarks, "the greatest piece of compliance that ever the King had from the clergy." 2

This decision was, however, soon ratified by Parliament, and Anne of Cleves was easily persuaded to surrender her exalted but

dangerous position for a pension of £3000 a year.

The old nobility, who hated Cromwell as an upstart, seized this opportunity, and, drawing up a long list of his crimes, accused him of treason. No one except Cranmer ventured to plead for the fallen minister, and he was condemned by an Act of attainder, and executed on July 28, 1540.

¹ Cf. Pollard, Cranmer, p. 100, n. 1. ² Burnet, vol. i. p. 363.

CHAPTER VIII

PROGRESS AND REACTION

It is time now to consider the fortunes of the Reformers under this tyrannical régime. The breach with Rome, the marriage with Anne Boleyn, the promotion of Cranmer and Cromwell, and the dissolution of the monasteries, all tended to advance the cause of doctrinal reform.

On June 9, 1536, Bishop Latimer delivered the opening sermon before the first Convocation which had met since the overthrow of the Papal power. Preaching from the text "For the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light" (Luke xvi. 8), Latimer, in graphic and forcible language, drew a picture of the corrupt condition of the Church. even darker than that depicted by Colet in 1512. He denounced the abuses of the Church courts, the profanation of holy days, the superstitious veneration of images and relics, the sale of masses, and the doctrine of purgatory. Many of the clergy preached, he said, "that dead images not only ought to be covered with gold, but clad with silk garments laden with precious gems and jewels . . . whereas we see Christ's faithful and lively images, bought with no less price than with His most precious blood, to be an hungered, a-thirst, a-cold, and to lie in darkness." "Purgatory pick-purse," he also declared, "was a pleasant fiction, and from the beginning so profitable to the feigners of it, that almost, I dare boldly say, there hath been no emperor that hath gotten more by taxes and tallages of them that were alive, than these got by dead men's tributes and gifts." He boldly asserted that this deplorable condition of religion was due to the unfaithfulness of the bishops and clergy. All good men complained of their avarice, exactions, and tyranny. have you done," he pertinently asks, "these seven years and more?" "Come, go to," he concludes, "leave the love of your profit . . . and bring forth at the last somewhat that may please Christ. Feed ye tenderly with all diligence the flock of Christ.

Preach truly the Word of God. Love the light, walk in the light, and so be ye the children of light while you are in this world." 1

By way of reply the Lower House drew up a long list of Articles, complaining of the intemperate and profane language and teaching of many of those who advocated the "new opinions," and the slackness of some of the bishops in suppressing them." 2 Cromwell, as "Vicar General," informed them that Henry desired them "friendly and lovingly" to dispute among themselves "and conclude all things by the Word of God, without all brawling or scolding." 3 The two parties, however, seemed little likely to come to an amicable agreement, and thus, on July 11, Bishop Foxe of Hereford brought forward a list of Articles, professedly compiled by Henry himself, 4 which, after a prolonged debate, were accepted by both Houses of Convocation. These "Ten Articles" were distinctly of the nature of a compromise between the teaching of the Reformers and those who advocated the "old learning," although their approval by Cardinal Pole 5 proved that they attempted no serious departure from the standard of current orthodoxy.

The first five dealt with fundamental matters of faith, while the last five laid down rules concerning rites and ceremonies. The rule of faith is to be determined by the Bible and the three Creeds, interpreted according to the opinions of the "holy approved doctors of the Church." Penance is a sacrament instituted by Christ, necessary to salvation for those who fall into sin after baptism, and consists of contrition, confession, and amendment of life displayed in prayer, fasting, and almsdeeds. Confession to a priest is declared to be "a very expedient and necessary mean" for obtaining absolution. In the Sacrament of the Altar, "under the form and figure of bread and wine, is the very self-same body and blood of Christ corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received." Justification "signifies remission of sins and reconciliation into the favour of God," and is attained by

contrition and faith joined with charity.

1 Latimer's Sermons, pp. 33-54.

² Fuller, Church History, vol. ii. pp. 69-74.

³ Cf. Foxe, vol. v. p. 379.

⁴ The authorship of these Articles is well discussed in Hardwicke's History of the Articles, pp. 40-1 (1904).

⁵ Cf. Fisher, History of England (1485-1547), p. 392.

Images are "representers of virtue and good example." Saints are to be honoured with a modified reverence, and invoked as intercessors "praying with us and for us" unto God, although "grace, remission of sin, and salvation" can only be obtained through the mediation of our Saviour Christ. Praying for departed souls is defended as a "charitable deed," but "masses and the Pope's pardon to deliver souls from Purgatory"

are "abuses which should be clearly put away." 1

The issue of these Articles was regarded by the Reformers as a great step towards the purification of the Church, as not only were the four mediæval Sacraments of Orders, Confirmation, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction ignored, but the gross abuses connected with the worship of saints and images were discouraged, and the demoralising system of Indulgences tacitly condemned. Moreover, the Scriptures and Creeds, apart from tradition, were exalted as the standard of faith, and "the lay people," as Bishop Foxe informed Convocation, "do now know the holy Scripture better than many of us . . . that now many things may be better understood without any glosses at all than by the commentaries of the doctors." 2

In 1537 a committee of bishops and divines published, with Henry's consent, a valuable theological treatise entitled the Institution of a Christian Man, and generally known as the "Bishop's Book." It contained a full exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments, and the doctrines of Justification and Purgatory. The teaching expounded was substantially the same as that contained in the "Ten Articles." The Seven Sacraments were, indeed, reaffirmed, but all "bishops and preachers" were instructed to teach the people the difference, "in dignity and necessity," between the Three Sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance, "instituted of Christ, as certain instruments necessary for our salvation," and the other four.3

The English Reformers were at this time further encouraged by the negotiations which Henry, actuated mainly by political motives, was conducting with the German Lutherans. Henry was anxious to obtain the assistance of the German Protestant Princes in the event of a war with the Emperor, and thus in 1535 Friar Barnes, Bishop Foxe, and Dr. Heath held protracted con-

¹ Cf. Hardwicke, Articles, pp. 240-251.

² Foxe, vol. v. p. 382. ³ Cf. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 99.

ferences with Melancthon, Luther, and the Wittenberg divines, with a view to forming a religious union. The German Princes even invited Henry to become the "Defender or Protector" of their "League of Smalkald" on the condition of his conforming to the "Confession of Augsburg" (drawn up in 1530), a moderate doctrinal formulary, aiming at a return to the faith of the early Fathers and protesting against medieval innovations.

Bishop Gardiner, however, who was ambassador at Paris, succeeded in dissuading Henry from taking such a definite step, and the death of Queen Catharine and the fall of Anne Boleyn led to a temporary suspension of the negotiations. They were, however, resumed again in 1538, when Henry invited an embassy, consisting of three prominent Lutheran divines, to England, to attempt a "concord of doctrine" which might enable him to make common cause with the German Princes. A committee, consisting of three bishops, including Cranmer, and four doctors, was appointed to confer with these German "orators" on behalf of the English Church. The conference apparently arrived at an amicable agreement on the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, which they set down in writing, but Henry and the party of the "old learning," led by Gardiner and Tunstall, refused to make any concessions in regard to the "abuses" of communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, and private propitiatory masses, which were specially obnoxious to the Lutherans, and thus the embassy returned home in 1539, having accomplished nothing.2

Probably the high-water mark of the doctrinal Reformation under Henry was reached in 1538, by the issue of Cromwell's 3 Injunctions, ordering the whole Bible in English to be provided for every church. Every person was to be exhorted to read it, "as the very lively word of God that every Christian man is bound to embrace, believe and follow, if he look to be saved." The people were to be carefully instructed in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in English, and there was to be a sermon at least once a quarter, to declare the true Gospel of Christ, to encourage works of faith, mercy, and charity, and to warn against trusting in pilgrimages to images or relics, "or kissing

vii. and viii. Addenda.

These are supposed to be identical with the "Thirteen Articles" of 1538, which mainly follow the Augsburg Confession, and formed the basis of the Forty-two Articles of 1553. Cf. Hardwicke, Articles, pp. 59-61.

² Cf. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 379, and Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 402-39, No.

³ Acting as Henry's Vicegerent.

or licking the same over, saying over a number of beads not understanded, or in such-like superstition." Images which had been abused with pilgrimages or offerings were to be taken down, and no candles were to be set before any image or picture.1

Already the impostures of many of the famous shrines had been exposed and the images publicly burned, such as the "Rood of Grace" at Boxley and the blood of Hailes,2 and the image of David Gatheren in Wales, which was believed to have the power of delivering souls from hell. The wealthy shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury had been singled out for special vengeance as perpetuating the memory of a martyr for the Papal claims. The shrine was destroyed, the rich jewels and gold confiscated, the bones burnt, and now by these Injunctions his commemoration as a saint was strictly forbidden.

The Bible ordered by these Injunctions was not published till April 1539, and from its size was known as the "Great Bible." It was a revision made by Coverdale of "Matthews'" or Rogers' translation, and had been printed in Paris, although, owing to the persecution of the Inquisition, the translators had to fly with their printing presses to London just before the work was completed. A further revision also appeared in the following year, containing a preface by Cranmer, pointing out the inestimable privileges of

those who rightly use the Scriptures.

But the progress of the Reformation, as evidenced by these significant changes, was largely due to the influence of Cranmer and Cromwell, and the signs of a reaction were already manifest. In November 1538, a royal proclamation had strictly forbidden the marriage of priests under pain of imprisonment, while in the same month Henry himself presided at the trial of a "heretic" named Lambert or John Nicholson.

Holding the opinions of the Swiss Reformers on the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, Lambert had controverted the Eucharistic views expressed in a sermon by Dr. Taylor. This led to his examination before Cranmer, who, holding at that time the medieval, or, at least, the Lutheran view of the Sacrament.3 endeavoured in vain to convince Lambert of his errors.

¹ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 227.

3 The question of Cranmer's changes of view on the Eucharist is discussed in Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog., iii., 227 n.

² At Hailes in Gloucestershire the blood of Christ was exhibited to the faithful who were "not in mortal sin," the evidence of which was decided by the extent of their gifts to the supposed relic!

The latter then appealed to the King, and accordingly the case was tried by Henry in Westminster Hall. Lambert argued with great ability against the King, Cranmer, and Tunstall for five hours, but in the end he was condemned to be burned, the sentence being carried out with the greatest barbarity at Smithfield.

There is little doubt that the profane methods of the more ignorant and fanatical of the Reformers also materially aided the reactionary party led by Gardiner, amongst the clergy, and the Duke of Norfolk amongst the nobility. For not only were the Scriptures, as Henry bitterly complained, "disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every tavern and alehouse," but stage-plays and interludes were frequently acted in the churches, profanely and indecently travestying the current medieval forms of worship or the corruptions or immoralities of the monks and clergy. Even the doctrine of Transubstantiation, still very generally received and revered, was often ridiculed in ribald ballads and scandalous jests, while the wild and erroneous opinions of the new sect of Anabaptists tended to alienate men from all doctrinal changes. The evidence of this resentment was soon manifested in the Parliament of 1539, when Henry strenuously supported the Duke of Norfolk's proposed "Six Articles" of Religion. which, in spite of the earnest opposition of Cranmer, supported by Bishops Goodrich, Latimer, Shaxton, Hilsey, and Barlow, passed both Houses. Under this Act, soon styled the "Bloody Statute," or the "Whip with six strings," the penalty for denying Transubstantiation was death at the stake, without even the possibility of abjuration. The five other Articles declared that communion in both kinds was unnecessary, the marriage of priests unlawful, that vows of chastity must be perpetually observed, that private masses ought to be continued, and that auricular confession was expedient and necessary. Those who preached or disputed against any of these articles were to suffer death as felons.

Mercifully, the provisions of this Act, ferocious even for that intolerant age, do not appear to have been very stringently enforced, although it wrought consternation amongst the Reformers, great numbers of them being imprisoned, while several actually suffered death owing to its severe penalties. Its immediate consequence was the resignation, probably under pressure, of Bishops Latimer and Shaxton, both of whom were shortly after imprisoned for speaking against the Act. Cranmer was also

obliged to send away his wife to Germany, but still continued to

enjoy Henry's favour.

The fall of Cromwell in the following year was another great blow to the hopes of the Reformers. "The progress of the Reformation," says Burnet, "which had been by his endeavours so far advanced, was quite stopped. For all that Cranmer could do after this was to keep the ground they had gained, but he could never advance much further."

With the removal of Cromwell's great influence, Henry was able to pursue his arbitrary and tyrannical policy almost unchecked, and a conspicuous example of this soon occurred in his treatment of three Lutheran divines, Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome. They were guilty of no offence against the Six Articles. but simply of replying rather sharply to some reflections made by Gardiner against the Lutheran doctrine of Justification. Henry required them to sign a paper acknowledging their errors, and also to recant them publicly in their sermons. Their recantation being considered somewhat ambiguous, they were all imprisoned, and Parliament was actually persuaded to pass bills of attainder against them for heresy. Thus, without even the semblance of a trial, they were condemned as "incorrigible heretics," the Act stating that the number of their heresies "was too long to be repeated." To create a show of impartiality three unfortunate priests, attainted of treason for denying the King's supremacy, were dragged to the place of execution with the three Lutherans. The sheriff was even unable to inform Barnes of the crimes for which he was condemned, whereupon the martyr exclaimed that "he heard he was condemned to die by an Act of Parliament, and it seemed it was for heresy, since they were to be burnt. He prayed God to forgive those who had been the occasions of it, and in particular the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), if he had sought or procured his death." 2 Shortly afterwards Mekins, an illiterate boy of fifteen, was condemned to death for speaking against the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, Bishop Bonner displaying a most vindictive spirit by furiously intimidating the jury which had declined to convict him.

Probably the case that excited the greatest pity and indignation was that of Anne Askew, a lady of good family and education. In 1545 she was charged with declaring that whoever received the Sacrament at the hands of a wicked priest received

¹ Vol. i. p. 368.

² Burnet, vol. i. pp. 382-4.

"not God, but the devil." She stoutly denied the accusation, and cleverly parried all the Bishop of London's (Bonner) attempts to obtain her definite opinion of Transubstantiation. "In spirit and faith," she declared, she received "no less than

the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament."

In the following year she was again indicted for heresy, in company with Bishop Shaxton. The bishop recanted and regained his liberty, but no arguments or torture could shake the fearless constancy of Anne. She refused to confess the Sacrament to be "flesh, blood, and bone." With the object of forcing her to implicate some ladies of the Court who were supposed to sympathise with her opinions, she was most cruelly racked while in the Tower, Lord Chancellor Wriothesley himself turning the screw in a vain endeavour to conquer her fortitude. Her sufferings were so great that she was obliged to be carried to the stake in a chair, where, in the presence of a great concourse of people, she suffered martyrdom on July 16, 1546. Shaxton, who had been saved from a similar fate by an inglorious recantation, was compelled to preach the sermon condemning her "heresies."

In 1542 an attempt of Convocation to suppress the Scriptures on the pretext of the inaccuracy of the translation was happily frustrated by Cranmer, who obtained Henry's consent to refer a proposed new revision to the Universities, and nothing further was heard of the matter.² Next year, however, all translations of Tyndale and Coverdale were condemned, and the humbler

classes were entirely prohibited from reading the Bible.3

It is not surprising that Cranmer, with his persistent efforts to advance the cause of the Reformation, should have incurred the bitter enmity of the adherents of the "old" faith. Thus several attempts were made to ruin him, but the King's fidelity to him was not to be shaken. "You are," said Cromwell to Cranmer, "most happy of all men; for you may do and speak what you list: and say what all men can against you, the King will never believe one word to your detriment or hindrance." Thus in 1544 the Duke of Norfolk and some members of the Privy

¹ Cf. Foxe, vol. v. pp. 537-550. ² Fuller, vol. ii. pp. 108-9.

³ Convocation had this year ordered every curate to read each Sunday or holiday a chapter of the Bible in English without exposition. Stubbs' *Hist.*, Appen. iv. 132.

⁴ Cf. Pollard, ut supra, p. 157; Foxe, vol. viii. p. 27.

Council accused the Archbishop of infecting three-fourths of the land with his abominable heresy, and obtained leave to bring him to trial before the Council. Cranmer was kept waiting amongst the lackeys for nearly an hour, but when ordered to the Tower, he appealed to the King, producing the ring which Henry had privately given him in case he should be hardly dealt with. Henry sharply reproved the Councillors, declaring Cranmer to be "as faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm."

In 1542 the execution of Queen Katharine Howard for unfaithfulness acted as a check on the reactionary party, especially as Catharine Parr, the widow whom Henry married in the following

year, secretly favoured the Reformation.

Thus the revision of the "Bishop's Book" which appeared in 1543, under the title of *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, and soon known as the "King's Book," was a very questionable victory for the adherents of the "old learning." The Seven Sacraments were again reasserted, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation more explicitly defined than in the "Institution," but the legislative powers and independence of every national Church were fully declared, while the doctrine of Justification by Faith was explained in terms acceptable to the Reformers. The book was carefully revised and approved by Convocation.

A work destined finally to be of a far more permanent character was also commenced at this time at Cranmer's instigation. The original service book, drawn up by Augustine for the use of the English Church, had in the course of time been so altered by the ordinances of the various diocesan bishops, that many different services or "Uses" were employed in different ecclesiastical districts. At least seven are known to have existed, the most popular of which was the Sarum Use, compiled by Bishop Osmund of Salisbury in 1085. In 1542 Cranmer proposed to amend these various service books, and the following year the King ordered Convocation to undertake the task. A committee was consequently appointed, but it is uncertain whether the new English liturgy which appeared in the following reign owed anything to their efforts.

Meanwhile Cranmer was engaged on the production of a document which has been well described as "the most exquisite of English compositions," 2 and has certainly profoundly in-

¹ Strype, Cranmer, vol. i. pp. 180-1. ² Gairdner, ut supra, p. 230 n.

fluenced the religious devotions of succeeding generations of Englishmen. This was the English Litany of 1544, which had been compiled by the Archbishop from the old litanies of the English Church, and probably also from one which had been issued by Archbishop Hermann of Cologne in 1543. Henry ordered its general use in June 1544, stating that as the people have hitherto "come very slackly to the Procession" because "they understood no part of such prayers and suffrages" as were said and sung, "certain godly prayers and suffrages" are now set forth "in our native English tongue." 2

In the following year this Litany, substantially the same as the one in present use, was incorporated in a revised book of private devotions, known as the *King's Primer*, which superseded the primers compiled by Marshall and Hilsey earlier in the reign, as "a determinate form of praying in their own mother tongue... that such as are ignorant of any strange and foreign speech may have what to pray in their own familiar language with fruit and

understanding." 3

In 1545 an Act was passed abolishing "all chantries, hospitals, and free chapels," and alienating their property to the King's use. Although this was occasioned largely by Henry's need of money for the war with France, yet the virtual condemnation of the received doctrine of prayers for the departed, which it involved, was another sign that the tide was

beginning to turn again in favour of the Reformers.

The death of the King in January 1547, however, rendered it impossible to tell how much further he might have been persuaded to advance on the path of reform. On his deathbed he sent for Cranmer, but he was unable to do more than squeeze the Archbishop's hand in answer to his exhortation to trust in the mercy of Christ.⁴ Although his capricious ecclesiastical policy, dictated usually by political necessities, often severely tried the loyalty of his "Catholic" subjects, yet at heart he never wavered in his attachment to the medieval conception of Catholicity. Hooper, writing in 1546, said, "As far as true religion is concerned, idolatry is nowhere in greater vigour. Our King has destroyed the pope but not popery." Thus, while some

¹ From being sung in processions, litanies came to be called by that name.

Burnet, vol. ii. p. 328, *Records*, No. 28.
 Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 874.
 Fuller, vol. ii. p. 131.

⁵ Original Letters, vol. i. p. 36.

of the more glaring ecclesiastical abuses were reformed, there was as yet but little desire for any real doctrinal changes. The burning of "heretics" had, it is true, rather stimulated than weakened the cause of the Reformers, yet the mass of the people were still either indifferent to religious changes or loyal to the "old" religion. It was not unnatural that men's sympathies and judgment should be somewhat confused when, under the "King's religion," not only the "Protestant" suffered at the stake for contravening recognised orthodoxy, but the "Catholic" endured a

traitor's death for denying the Royal Supremacy.

In spite of Henry's tyrannical and despotic policy, his rule was in the main popular and for the good of the nation. The confidence created by his strong personal rule greatly fostered the development of trade and commerce, and led to the rise of a wealthy and influential merchant class. Even though his Parliaments were judiciously "packed," it is impossible to account for their abjectly servile attitude unless the King's arbitrary government tended to the better security of the country. For not only did they invest him with supreme power over the Church, but they enacted treason laws to suit his pleasure, placing the consciences, and even the thoughts, of his subjects at his mercy. They cancelled his debts, legalised his proclamations, illegitimised his children, and even gave him the right to settle the succession by his will. Thus Henry attained the apparently contradictory position of a despot ruling by the forms of law.

CHAPTER IX

THE DOCTRINAL REFORMATION

HENRY had appointed his son Edward, a mere child not ten years old, to succeed him, and had also nominated a Council of sixteen to govern the kingdom during the boy king's minority. Although these councillors seemed to have been selected with a view to maintaining a fairly even balance between the two opposing religious parties, in reality the ascendency lay with the Reformers. For Gardiner, the ablest champion of the "old learning," had been deliberately excluded, while the Earl of Hertford, the King's uncle, who was immediately chosen as Lord Protector, and shortly after created Duke of Somerset, was a staunch supporter of Cranmer's reforming views. In fact, with the exception of Lord Chancellor Wriothesley and Bishop Tunstall, none of the councillors were likely to offer a very strenuous resistance to further religious changes. The fact also that three zealous Reformers had been appointed as tutors to Edward would seem to support Cranmer's assertion that Henry was, at the time of his death, contemplating a more thorough reformation.1

The bishops, probably in order to confirm their acceptance of the Royal Supremacy, were required to take out fresh commissions from the new Sovereign to exercise their jurisdiction during the King's pleasure.² This somewhat Erastian guarantee of loyalty was, however, not long enforced, as the new bishops created during the reign were empowered to hold their sees for life.

A certain number of the more fanatical Reformers determined to precipitate religious changes by violently and illegally removing images and crucifixes from the churches. Thus, to prevent a general outbreak of iconoclasm, the Council was obliged to issue proclamations strictly forbidding all unauthorised innovations.

¹ Cf. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 416, n.; and Burnet, vol. iii. p. 33.
² Bonner had taken out a similar commission in 1539 for his See.
Burnet, vol. i. p. 345.

At the same time a general visitation of the realm was ordered, during which Episcopal jurisdiction was suspended. The fierce heresy and treason laws enforced during Henry's "reign of terror" were allowed to be in abevance, with the result that the unrestrained liberty to preach and teach which the "heretics" suddenly acquired was frequently abused by the more ardent spirits, and occasioned great scandal to Gardiner and the conservative party. In this heated state of religious controversy the Council decided to proceed carefully, "being in doubt," as Cranmer said, "how men will take the change or alteration of abuses in the Church.1 Accordingly, the visitors published Injunctions concerning the conduct of divine service, the lives of the clergy, and against superstitious practices and the abuse of images. These were supplemented by a translation of Erasmus's paraphrase of the New Testament, a copy of which was to be provided for every parish church, and by a Book of Homilies, compiled by Cranmer, containing practical instruction on Christian doctrine and morality.

The abundant need for inquiry into the spiritual condition of many parishes was fully evident from an official account of a visitation of the diocese of Gloucester some four years later, when it was discovered that out of three hundred and eleven clergy one hundred and sixty-eight could not repeat the Ten Commandments in English, thirty-one were ignorant of the author of the Lord's Prayer, and forty could not tell where it was to be found.2

The new Injunctions and Homilies met with considerable opposition, especially from Bonner and Gardiner. Bonner was induced to submit, but Gardiner resisted all arguments, and was imprisoned for several weeks in the Fleet.3 He contended strongly that it was unlawful to make any alterations in religion during Edward's minority, and that the teaching contained in the Homilies was opposed to the Erudition of any Christian Man which Henry had so recently authorised.4

Princess Mary also urged that the religious changes were contrary to the will of her father, to which Somerset replied that it

¹ Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 416.

² Later Writings of Bishop Hooper, p. 151.
³ He courageously told Sir J. Godsalve, who had warned him that his disobedience might cost him his bishopric, that "Honesty and Truth are more leef to me than all the possessions of the Realm." Burnet, vol. iii. p. 135, Records, No. 13.

⁴ Cf. Foxe, vol. vi. pp. 30-50.

had been Henry's great regret at his death "that religion was so uncertainly established, and that he would have done much more to perfect a reformation if he had lived." 1 The Protector also told Gardiner that "We study to do all things temperately and with quiet and good order . . . that neither superstition, idolatry, or papacy should be brought in, nor lightness nor contempt of good order be maintained." 2

Parliament met in November and passed an important Act which redeemed Henry's reported promise of "turning the mass into a communion." 3 Convocation had already unanimously recommended the administration of the Communion in both kinds, and a bill authorising this change "as more conformable to the practice both of the Apostles and of the primitive Church," was now carried. The priest was compelled to explain the nature and benefit of the Sacrament the day before its administration, and exhort all present to receive it with him, and none were to be denied from communicating without lawful cause.4

Another Act of the greatest consequence was passed, repealing all the tyrannical Treason Acts of the last reign and all laws passed against heresy since the reign of Richard II. Treason was now reduced to the limits defined by Edward III's famous statute, although those who presumed to write against the Royal Supremacy were still liable to its penalties. Full liberty was now for the first time given to print the Scriptures in English and to deliberate on religious questions. An Act was also passed for the appointment of bishops by letters patent,⁵ abolishing the formality of the congé d'élire.6

Under the pretext of abolishing "superstition and errors" fostered by the "abuse of trentals and chantries," 7 a comprehensive Chantries Act was passed which completed the work begun by Henry's Act in 1545. The financial necessities of the new Government were very urgent, and it was probably considered that the confiscation by the Crown of endowments, maintained chiefly for the support of the doctrine of Purgatory, would not be an unpopular act with the Reformers. Accordingly, the provisions

Gee and Hardy, p. 328.

¹ Cf. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 140, Records, No. 15. ² Foxe, vol. vi. p. 35. ³ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 33. ⁴ Gee and Hardy, pp. 322-8. ³ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 33.

⁵ Henry VIII had been empowered to do this in 1530. ⁶ This was apparently a reversion to the usage prevalent before the time of King John. Cf. Selborne, Defence of the Church, &c., p. 44. But see also Perry, Church History, vol. i.; Appendix A, p. 519.

of the Act of 1545, appropriating the endowments of chantries, were re-enacted, and in addition lands set apart for the maintenance of anniversaries or obits, or lights in any church or chapel, were given to the King. Although a proviso was inserted that these revenues should be converted to the furtherance of educational and charitable schemes, all too little seems to have been done to redeem this promise, and as a living historian aptly remarks, "the interests of the nation were sacrificed to those of its aristocracy, between the endowment of the Seymours and "superstition" there was not very much to choose." 1

In March 1548, a new "Order of Communion" was published for general use on the following Easter Day, so that there "should be in all parts of this realm one uniform manner quietly used." It provided for an English service to be added to the Latin mass, no variation from which was permitted until the priest himself had received the Sacrament, after which the communicants for the first time heard in their own tongue the Invitation, the Exhortation, Confession, Absolution, and Prayer of Humble

Access, which are so familiar to-day.

What, however, proved most objectionable to the clergy of the "old learning," as directly denying the necessity of auricular confession, was the option, freely allowed, of making "a humble confession to God and the general confession to the Church," instead of the "auricular and secret confession to the priest"

which had heretofore been obligatory.

This "Order of Communion" was, however, merely a temporary expedient to allay, if possible, the intemperate zeal of the more extreme Reformers, the King expressly enjoining them "to stay and quiet themselves with this our direction," concluding that "we know what by God's word is meet to be redressed and have an earnest mind . . . with all diligence and certain speed so to set forth the same as it may most stand with God's glory," while a rubric in the book itself provided that the service of the Mass should not be further varied from "until other Order shall be provided."

² Foxe, vol. v. p. 720.

¹ Pollard, *History of England*, 1547–1603, p.120 (1910). Several grammar schools were, however, founded at this time out of the revenues of Chantry lands.

³ The Exhortation, Confession, and Comfortable Words were taken from Archbishop Hermann's Consultation.

⁴ Cf. Gasquet and Bishop, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer, p. 96 (1891).

This peculiar compromise on the doctrine which soon became the main battle-ground of the English Reformation produced little harmony; in fact, the nature and frequency of the proclamations which were issued during this eventful year show into what a dangerous state of confusion and virtual anarchy Church questions had been plunged. Amidst the conflicting standards of faith and practice which had been enforced by Henry, and the cautious and indefinite measures now introduced, most people must have been greatly in doubt as to what they were required to believe. The more zealous spirits, also, divining that the tide was now turning in favour of reform, were indulging in various kinds of illegal innovations, while the liberty of public preaching recently granted, often degenerated into a licence to advocate new and curious religious opinions, or to hold up to unseemly abuse and ridicule medieval doctrines as yet uncondemned. January 1548, Bishop Latimer had vigorously denounced the sacrifice of the Mass as the devil's means of "evacuating" the one sufficient sacrifice of Christ's death. Another licensed preacher had publicly charged the people with committing the "most horrible idolatry," because they honoured as God "that which the priest doth hold over his head" during the Mass.2 The baser and more lawless took advantage of the unsettled state of religion to rob, plunder, and profane the churches. many churches "the utensils and ornaments were spoiled, embezzled, and made away with, partly by the churchwardens and partly by other parishioners." 3

In consequence of the violent contention concerning the superstitious use of images, the Council issued proclamations in February, ordering the removal of all the remaining images, and forbidding all unauthorised innovations of any accustomed rites or ceremonies, although none were to be punished for not "creeping to the Cross, not taking Holy Bread or Holy Water." Another proclamation in May enjoined the strictest moderation on all licensed preachers, but apparently in September it was found necessary, temporarily, to prohibit preaching altogether.

We can form some idea of the extent to which irreverence and profanity were rife from a proclamation which was issued for-

¹ Sermons, p. 73.

² Camden Society, Narratives of the Reformation, p. 72 (1859).

³ Strype, Cranmer, vol. i. p. 253.

Burnet, vol. iv. p. 155, Records, No. 22. Fuller, Church Hist., vol. ii. p. 314.

bidding "quarrelling, shooting, or bringing horses and mules into or through the churches"... "making the same... like a stable or common inn, or rather a den and sink of all unchristiness."

Meanwhile a general pardon had released Gardiner from the Fleet, but being accused of fomenting in his diocese opposition to the religious changes, it was proposed that he should preach a sermon publicly approving them, the Protector, however, strictly charging him to abstain from touching on the controversy "resting at present in consultation," concerning the Mass. Gardiner gave a general though careful approval of the recent proceedings of the Council, but as he caused contention amongst his audience by asserting a corporal presence in the Sacrament, he was imprisoned in the Tower, and deprived of his bishopric some two years later.

The Lower House of Convocation had already petitioned that the work of the committee of divines appointed to remodel the service books might be laid before them, and the numerous evidences of religious unrest pointed to the pressing need of an authorised service book to establish uniformity of doctrine, worship, and ceremonial throughout the kingdom. Already individual churches had, apparently with the secret approval of the Council, anticipated the proposed changes, and in May we are told that "Paul's choir and divers other parishes in London sang all the service in English, both matins and evensong, and kept no Mass without some received the communion with the priest."

At length in November 1548, the work of the committee was completed, and the first Book of Common Prayer, in English, a work mainly due to Cranmer's extensive liturgical study and research, was presented to the King. The King publicly declared the book to have been set forth with the approval of Convocation,⁴

¹ Strype, ut supra, pp. 252-3.

² In September the Protector wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, enjoining that in "your colleges, chapels, or other churches one uniform order, rite, and ceremonies in the Mass, matins, and evensong" was to be used, "such as is presently used in the King's Majesty's chapel. . . . The which for the more plain instruction, we have by this bearer sent unto you." MS. Corpus Christi Coll., Camb., vol. cvi. p. 493.

Quoted in Gasquet and Bishop, ut supra, p. 102.

⁴ Foxe, v. 726, but of. Proctor, ut supra, p. 25, note; Dixon, History of the Church of England, vol. iii. pp. 5-6, 130 and 146, and Archbishop Abbot's statement, quoted in Selborne, ut supra, p. 54, and Gasquet and Bishop, chap. x.

but as the records of this Convocation were destroyed in the "Fire of London," there is no absolutely conclusive means of determining this point. The new book occasioned considerable opposition in the House of Lords, but was finally passed on January 21, 1549—twelve of the spiritual peers supporting and eight opposing it. It had been preceded by a remarkable three days' debate in the House of Lords on the nature of the Eucharist, which is important as evidence that Cranmer and the Reforming bishops had already abandoned both the medieval and Lutheran views of the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist! "Our faith," said Cranmer, "is not to believe Him to be in the bread and wine, but that He is in heaven." "I believe that Christ is eaten with heart; the eating with our mouth cannot give life. . . . The change is inward, not in the bread, but in the receiver."

Cranmer's change of view seems to have been due to the influence of Ridley,² Bishop of Rochester, and there is no good evidence to prove the assertion ³ that he was influenced by the

teaching of foreign divines on the subject.

Thus the new Prayer Book, although based mainly on a revision of the Sarum Use, deliberately forbade "any elevation or showing of the Sacrament to the people" during the prayer of consecration. All the old significant acts of adoration by the priest were also omitted, the Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross was described as a "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," and the celebration a "commemoration" of this; while in consecrating the elements, now styled "these Thy creatures of bread and wine," the words were no longer that "they may be made unto us," but that "they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ."

An Act of Uniformity ordered this new service book to be generally used from Whitsunday 1549, declaring it to have been drawn up in conformity with "the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Scripture and the usages of the primi-

tive Church."

Varying penalties, mild for that age, were attached to those clergy who neglected to use, or attempted to defame it. The third offence involved imprisonment for life, but laymen incurred no penalties for refusing to attend the service, unless in addition

² Čf. Strype, Cranmer, vol. i. p. 98. ³ Original Letters, p. 383.

¹ Cf. Tomlinson's Great Parliamentary Debate, pp. 27, 39, and 53.

they reviled the book in "plays, songs, or rhymes." The prohibition of the old service books, the compression of the separate offices of Matins, Lauds, Prime, Vespers, and Compline into the two services of Matins and Evensong, the very important departures from the Missal in the new Communion Office, and, above all, the adoption of the use of the vernacular in all public worship, amounted to changes in the conduct of divine service which must have appeared to conservative and illiterate persons little short of a revolution. It is not therefore surprising that the appearance of this first Book of Common Prayer should have provoked considerable opposition, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the tumults and insurrections which occurred in so many parts of England in 1549 were due in any great measure to these religious changes. Except in the case of the formidable rising in Devon and Cornwall, these disturbances were directly due to the very real social grievances occasioned by the economic changes of the period. The violent inclosures of waste or common lands, and the conversion of arable land into pastures for sheep had led to the eviction and destitution of a large number of peasants and yeomen farmers. While wages remained almost stationary, the prices of the necessaries of life were rapidly rising, and the growing inclination on the part of powerful landowners and merchants to exploit the poorer classes for their own advantage had already created a serious antagonism between rich and poor, of which these general risings were the natural outward expression. Thus Hooper, in writing of these disturbances, says, "The people are sorely oppressed by the marvellous tyranny of the nobility." 2 Bishop Scory also wrote to the King in 1551 lamenting that "there are not at this day ten ploughs, whereas were wont to be forty or fifty," and that, owing to the "great sheep-masters," "the great dearth and scarcity of all kind of victuals" had made the rural inhabitants "more like the slavery and peasantry of France than the ancient and godly yeomanry of England." 3

The fifteen articles drawn up by the rebels in the west, however, all distinctly refer to the religious changes. They complained that the "new" service was "but like a Christmas game," and demanded the restoration of the Latin Mass, the Six Articles, the old services, and the withdrawal of the Bible

Gee and Hardy, pp. 358-66.
Original Letters, vol. i. p. 66.

³ Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol ii., Appendix, p. 144 (1721).

in English, "since otherwise the clergy could not easily confound the heretics"! They wished "the Sacrament to hang over the high altar and there to be worshipped," and only to be delivered

to the lay people at Easter.

Cranmer, who was deputed to answer their complaints, accused them of being ignorantly seduced by "crafty Papists," who made them ask for things that they did not properly understand. He showed them that the things they wished restored were superstitious innovations, which had been allowed to creep into the Church, contrary to the teaching of Christ and the customs of the first five centuries of the Christian era. The fables and idle tales in the Latin services, which they understood not, were, he said, far more like "plays and Christmas games" than this new service. The King also informed them that, so far from the service being new, it was indeed none other than the old, "the self-same words in English, saving a few things taken out, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English, as all can judge who list to report the truth." 2

The dislike to the new Prayer Book was not, however. confined to the west of England, for many of the conservative bishops and clergy, although they reluctantly conformed to the new regulations, endeavoured to harmonise the new liturgy with the doctrine and ceremonial of medieval Catholicity. Accordingly, fresh Injunctions were issued, strictly forbidding the continuance of the old superstitious ceremonies. "No minister was to counterfeit the popish Mass, as to kiss the Lord's Table, blessing his eyes with the paten or sudary, . . . laying down and licking the chalice, . . . showing the Sacrament openly before the distribution of the Communion, ringing of sacring bells, or setting any light upon the Lord's Board at any time." None were to be suffered to pray upon beads. or maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the Six Articles, images, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, creeping to the Cross, altars, . . . or any other such abuses and superstitions."3

In spite of these strict regulations there arose, we are told, a "marvellous schism, and variety of fashions, in celebrating the common service, for some did gladly follow the order thereof, and others, though not so willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly use some part of them; but many,

² Foxe, vol. v. p. 734.

¹ Strype, Cranmer, vol. ii., Appendix xl.

³ Burnet, vol. iv. p. 197, Records, No. 33.

carelessly contemning all, would still exercise their wonted popery." Hooper, writing at the time, says that "many still retain their vestments and the candles before the altars, where they had the principal or high mass they have now, as they call it, the high communion, and observe the same tone and manner of chanting to which they were heretofore accustomed in the papacy." 2 Bishop Bonner soon incurred the censures of the Council for not enforcing the new service book, and for allowing the people, not only to neglect divine service, but also to "frequent foreign rites of masses and other orders than in this realm are appointed."3 He was accordingly ordered to preach a sermon approving the recent changes, and vindicating the authority of the Royal Supremacy. His discourse not proving satisfactory, a special commission endeavoured to extort from him a promise of full obedience. Bonner, however, refused to recognise its authority, and, instead of answering the questions addressed to him, ignored or insulted the Commissioners, in consequence of which he was deprived of his bishopric and

A new Ordinal was published in March 1550, abolishing or greatly simplifying many of the rites contained in the medieval Pontificals, and only making provision for the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. This occasioned the deprivation of Bishop Heath of Worcester, who refused to accept it. About the same time, after a protracted trial, Gardiner was deprived of his see, and in October of the same year (1551) Bishop Day met with a similar fate for refusing to obey an order of the Council to substitute communion tables for altars in all churches.

A painful illustration that neither of the religious parties possessed any true idea of toleration was afforded by the condemnation of Joan Bocher, who had imbibed some of the opinions of the more fanatical of the Anabaptists, a new and growing sect which had lately arisen on the Continent, many of whom had already found their way to England. "Joan of Kent," besides apparently rejecting the tenet of infant baptism, denied that "Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin." She was imprisoned for over a year, during which time Cranmer and Ridley endeavoured in vain to reclaim her from her heretical opinions, and at length, in May 1550, she was burned at the stake.

Foxe, vol. v. p. 720.

² Original Letters, p. 72.

³ Foxe, vol. v. pp. 745 and 763.

Meanwhile, in September 1549, an active conspiracy, headed by the Earl of Warwick, a popular and successful general, was set on foot to overthrow the Protector. Somerset was accused of assuming almost regal power in the government. Hated by the nobility for his sympathy with the social grievances of the peasants, by the conservative party for his religious policy, and his shameful pillage of Church property, and by the more zealous Reformers for his lenient treatment of the "papists," he was charged with high treason, and imprisoned in the Tower. Warwick now succeeded to the chief place in the Council, but Somerset soon recovered his liberty, and proved too dangerous an opponent to the unscrupulous and ambitious policy of his rival. Accordingly, in 1551, a charge was fabricated against him of attempting to regain his position by murder and insurrection, and he was condemned and executed in January 1552, to the great grief of the common people, who regarded him as the champion of their wrongs.

The hopes entertained by the reactionary party, from this change of government, were short-lived, as Northumberland, to give him his more familiar title, soon discovered that he could best advance his own interests by espousing the cause of the more extreme Reformers, and thus the cautious and moderate policy pursued by Somerset was abandoned during the remainder

of the reign.

The new Prayer Book had by no means met with universal approbation, even from the Reformers. Most of them accepted it as a rather unsatisfactory compromise, and considered some of its teaching as vague, ambiguous, or liable to misconstruction. That this was possible was evidenced by the fact that Gardiner was able to declare the book "not distant from the Catholic faith, in my judgment." Some of the more advanced Reformers regarded it as barely tolerable. Thus Hooper, who, during his sojourn abroad, had imbibed the views of Henry Bullinger, Zwingle's famous disciple, described it "as very defective and of doubtful construction, and in some respects, indeed, manifestly impious," and on his appointment to the see of Gloucester, in 1550, he refused to be consecrated in what he described as "Aaronic vestments." Cranmer and Ridley, who were upheld by the opinion of Bucer and Peter Martyr, a earnestly entreated

Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 92. ² Original Letters, vol. i. p. 79. A learned Florentine exile who was installed as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

Hooper to accept the episcopal habit in the light of "things indifferent." At length, after an acrimonious and unedifying dispute lasting eight months and ending in a period of imprisonment, Hooper was induced to conform.¹ Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, two very learned and distinguished foreign divines, whom Cranmer had most cordially invited to England and installed as divinity professors at Cambridge, accepted the book as merely a temporary expedient to win over the people "lest they be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing Christ's religion." Dryander, a Spanish refugee, complained of its obscurity of language concerning the Lord's Supper, although he admitted that "the summary of doctrine" it contained "could not be found fault with." 3

Cranmer himself soon had good reason to see the need of more careful expression in the Communion Office. In 1550 he had published his famous treatise, entitled The Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Our Saviour Christ, in which he asserted the Scriptural doctrine of a real spiritual Presence to all worthy receivers of the Sacrament in opposition to the Lutheran and Roman theories of a Corporal Presence or Transubstantiation. This attack by the Primate of the English Church on the cherished and fundamental doctrine of medieval Catholicity soon brought forth a vigorous and skilful reply from Gardiner, who endeavoured to prove that the Archbishop's views contradicted the teaching of the new Prayer Book, which "set forth the most true Catholic doctrine of the substance of the Sacrament."

With this deliberate attempt to "Romanise" the new liturgy, it is not surprising that Cranmer and the Reformers should desire its further alteration and purification. The question was raised in Convocation at the close of 1550, and apparently a selected committee of divines were authorised to review it. There is little doubt that this further reformation was actively encouraged,

¹ Cf. Strype, Cranmer, chap. xvii. 2 Original Letters, p. 535.

³ fbid., p. 351.
4 "We say not as you do, that the body of Christ is corporally, naturally, and carnally either in the bread and wine or forms of bread and wine, or in them that eat and drink thereof. But we say that He is corporally in heaven only, and spiritually in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine. You make an article of the faith which the old Church never believed or heard of."—Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 54.

⁵ Ibid., vol. i. p. 55.

⁶ Cf. Original Letters, pp. 314 and 444.

if not greatly influenced, by the celebrated foreign divines now residing in England. Quite a number of religious refugees, fleeing from persecution on the Continent, were hospitably received at this time, and a colony of French and Flemish weavers had settled at Glastonbury under the spiritual care of John a'Lasco, a distinguished Polish Valerandus Pollanus. nobleman, the intimate friend of Erasmus and Melancthon. had been made superintendent of the foreign congregations in London, and was conspicuous in his opposition to the vestments and some of the ceremonies prescribed by the Prayer Book. Calvin also, from Geneva, and Bullinger, from Zurich, wrote earnestly exhorting both King and Primate to abolish the remnants of "popish superstition." Bucer was specially consulted concerning the proposed revision, and published a lengthy criticism of the service book. In this Censura, in which Peter Martyr concurred, Bucer reviewed the whole Prayer Book, and, although he declared that "he found nothing in it but what was either taken out of the Word of God, or, at least, not contrary to it, provided it was fairly interpreted," 1 yet he made numerous suggestions for alteration or omission, most of which were incorporated in the new book.² He objected to the commemoration of the departed and to the form of the prayer of consecration, and took exception to several of the ceremonies in the Baptismal Office. He also vigorously remonstrated against the spoliation of Church property. "Be as diligent," he concluded, "in guarding the property of Christ from sacrilege as you are in guarding your own from rapine."3 . . .

Before the revised liturgy was enacted, the Council issued an order, in November 1551, requiring the bishops to remove all altars and substitute instead Communion Tables "to be set up in some convenient part of the chancel," "because the form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the popish Mass unto the right use of the Lord's Supper," which "Christ did institute at a table and not at an altar." Ridley, who had succeeded Bonner as Bishop of London, had already, "to avoid dissension amongst the unlearned," issued, solely on his episcopal authority, a similar injunction during the

visitation of his new diocese.

¹ Collier, vol. v. p. 397.

² It would, however, be unwise to conclude, as a recent writer well points out, that Bucer instigated all the alterations which coincided with his suggestions. *Cf.* Upton, *Outlines of Prayer Book Hist.*, p. 176.

³ Dixon, vol. iii. p. 291.

⁴ Foxe, vol. vi. pp. 6-7.

The revised Prayer Book seems to have been completed early in 1551, but was not presented for the approval of Parliament or Convocation 1 till January 1552, and on April 6 an Act of Uniformity was passed ordering its general enforcement after the following 1st of November. It declared the First Book to have been "a very godly order agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church," but because "divers doubts" had arisen in its "use and exercise," it had been thought well to have it "faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect." Penalties were attached to those who should presume

to attend any other form of service.2

The new book differed very considerably from its predecessor, especially in the Communion Office, where, as it has been well observed, "it was not a little significant that everything in the first Prayer Book upon which Gardiner had fixed as evidence that the new liturgy did not reject the old belief, was in the revision carefully swept away and altered." 2 The Ten Commandments were introduced. The Consecration Prayer was divided into three parts, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the elements was omitted and the second part of our present Words of Administration was substituted for the first, while all mention of the "faithful departed" was removed. The words "mass" and "altar" were no longer retained, and special vestments were distinctly forbidden by an "ornaments rubric," which directed that "the minister at the time of the Communion and all other times in his ministration shall have and wear a surplice only." There were also several alterations in the Occasional Offices; exorcism, chrism, and chrisom being omitted in the Baptismal Service, the sign of the cross in Confirmation, and Extreme Unction in the Visitation of the Sick.

The book, although it did not altogether satisfy the scruples of the more extreme Protestants, was a distinct triumph for the

Reformers.

Stimulated largely by the violent invectives of John Knox, the celebrated Scotch reformer, a determined attempt was made to remove the rubric directing the reverent attitude of kneeling to receive the Holy Communion. Cranmer, however, frustrated

¹ It is a disputed point whether the second Prayer Book ever received the approval of Convocation. Cf. Perry, Church History, ii. p. 212, and Proctor and Frere, Hist. Prayer Book, p. 80.

² Gee and Hardy, pp. 369-72. ³ Gasquet and Bishop, p. 289.

the proposal, which he declared had been made "at the bidding of glorious and unquiet spirits who can like nothing but that is after their own fancy, and would still find faults if the book were altered every year; "1 but by virtue of an "Order in Council" a Declaration, usually known as the "Black Rubric," was added, explaining that no superstitious adoration was intended by the

practice.

Concurrently with the revision of the Prayer Book Cranmer was engaged, probably with the assistance of Bishop Ridley, in drawing up a Confession of Faith for the Reformed Church of England. In May 1552, these articles were presented to the King, who ordered them to be revised by six of his chaplains, and in the following June they were published with the royal sanction, the title stating that they "had been agreed upon by the bishops and other learned men in the Convocation of 1552." This claim was, however, virtually denied by Cranmer, 3 and although the point has been considerably disputed, there seems little reason now to doubt the truth of Burnet's conclusion that they "were not passed in Convocation, nor so much as offered to it."4

It has been well observed that these Forty-two Articles "showed a surprisingly comprehensive and moderate spirit. The broad, soft touch of Cranmer lay upon them when they came from the furnace. Nearly half were such as is common to all Christians, but even in these the brevity of statement and the avoidance of controversy is to be admired." 5 Several of the Articles were either borrowed from or based on the "Augsburg Confession," but on the question of the Eucharist, "the central point at this time, round which all the controversies of the

1 Quoted in Dixon, vol. iii, p. 476, and Tomlinson, Prayer Book Articles.

³ Cf. Works, vol. i. p. 422. 4 Vol. v. p. 258; cf. Hardwicke, Hist. of Articles, ch. v., and Dixon, vol.

iii. pp. 513-8. Dixon, vol. iii. p. 520.

[&]amp;c., p. 257.

This found no place in the Elizabethan Prayer Book, but was reinserted at the Revision of 1662, with the substitution of the word "corporal" for "real and essential." This change was necessary because of the altered terms of controversial phraseology, as the phrase "Real Presence" at the Reformation was generally interpreted to mean "real and bodily" (realem et corporalem, Art. xxix. 1552). Thus Dean Aldrich, writing in 1687, says, "The Protestants in King Henry VIII's time that suffered upon the Six Articles denied the Real Presence (i.e. in the Popish sense of it), but meant the same thing with us who think we may lawfully use that term." Quoted in Dimock, Hist. of Prayer Book, p. 48.

Reformation turned,"¹ the Lutheran teaching was entirely rejected, and the Articles were in practical harmony with the "Reformed" Confessions. The Sacraments, now reduced to two, were declared to be not merely "badges, or tokens of Christian men's profession," but "effectual signs of grace by which God doth work invisibly in us." The marriage of the clergy was expressly allowed; "sacrifices of Masses" were described as "fables and dangerous deceits"; and the doctrine of the Schoolmen concerning purgatory, adoration of images, and the invocation of saints was declared to be "perniciously repugnant to the Word of God." The Articles were issued in conjunction with a catechism compiled by Bishop Ponet, which formed the basis of one issued later by Dean Nowell.

An attempt, which had been made first in Henry's reign, to revise the old medieval Canon Law, was accomplished by Cranmer in 1552. But this *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, largely owing, apparently, to the opposition of Northumberland,

never attained statutory authority.

It would be impossible to condemn too severely the wholesale robbery and spoliation of Church property which went on throughout this reign. Somerset's record was sufficiently black, but the avarice and rapacity of Northumberland knew no bounds. Not only were the parish churches despoiled of their valuable plate, ornaments, and vestments, to fill the empty coffers of the Exchequer, or adorn the houses of the wealthy, but rich sees were plundered or suppressed, and churches and episcopal palaces demolished to glut the appetites of corrupt and sacrilegious statesmen. Somerset House was built on the ruins of a parish church and three episcopal residences, whilst Westminster Abbey was only saved from destruction by the timely surrender of half the revenues of the Dean and Chapter. Bishop Ridley's strong protest was the means of frustrating Somerset's plan of abolishing Clare Hall, Cambridge, although Cranmer's opposition failed to prevent the pillage of church goods by Northumberland's commissioners in February 1553.2 The see of Westminster was suppressed, and the grasping Northumberland almost succeeded in dealing a death-blow to that of Durham; the liberal-minded Tunstall, in spite of Cranmer's vigorous protest, being deprived of the bishopric on a trumped-up charge of treason.3

¹ Gasquet and Bishop, p. 288.

² Cf. Ridley's Works, pp. 59 and 327. ³ Cf. Strype, Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 417.

It is not surprising, with such a fearful example of sacrilege and corruption in high quarters, that morality generally should have been at a very low ebb, and many parishes in a neglected and impoverished condition. Bishop Latimer, who had been engaged throughout the reign in courageously denouncing the many prevalent abuses, gives a terrible picture of the spiritual destitution that abounded. "To consider what hath been plucked from Abbeys, colleges, and chantries, it is marvel no more to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation. . . . Schools are not maintained; scholars have not exhibition, the preaching office decayeth." 1 Bernard Gilpin told the King that "a thousand pulpits are covered with dust, some have not had four sermons these fifteen or sixteen years;" 2 and Bucer, shortly before his death in 1551, in a dignified letter, admonished the young ruler that "Those are not to be listened to who strive to hand the government of the religion of Christ to those . . . who make way for the greed of men to seize the wealth of the Church, and little by little to do away altogether with Christ's religion." 3

There is little doubt that this sacrilegious lust of the courtiers, combined with the unwise impatience of the more advanced Reformers, did much to alienate the people from the Protestant cause during Edward's reign, and there is a very good foundation of truth in the verdict of a modern historian concerning the Marian reaction, that "the cause which prosperity had ruined,

revived in the dark hour of persecution." 4

Quoted in Gasquet and Bishop, p. 300.
Green, ut supra, p. 357.

¹ Sermons, p. 291. ² Wordsworth, ut supra, iii. 382-3.

CHAPTER X

THE NEW LITURGIES AND THE REFORMED POSITION

ALTHOUGH it has been well remarked that "the primary aim of any liturgical formula is to assist the piety of the faithful, and not to afford a touchstone of error," 1 yet the devotional formularies compiled by Cranmer and his associates furnish good evidence, by their silence as well as by their definite statements, of the doctrinal position claimed for the Reformed Church of The sources from which the new Liturgies were drawn, and the spirit which actuated Cranmer in their composition, give abundant proof that his aim was, like Colet's, "to restore that old and true theology, which had been so long obscured by the subtleties of the schoolmen." 2 Thus, in his preface to the First Prayer Book, Cranmer claims that the "Order for Prayer, and for reading the Holy Scripture" now set forth, "is much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers, and a great deal more profitable and commodious than that which of late was used . . . because many things were left out, whereof some are untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious; and nothing is ordained to be read but the very pure Word of God, or that which is agreeable to the same." 3

The same conservative spirit was displayed in regard to the use of the ancient ceremonies, some of which Cranmer declares are abolished because "their excessive multitude was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us," and others because they had been so greatly abused by "superstitious blindness" or "insatiable avarice," but the rest are retained because, "where the old may be well used, they cannot reasonably

be reproved only for their age." 4

1 Gasquet and Bishop, p. 184.

² Quoted in Seebohm, ut supra, p. 336. ³ "Concerning the Service of the Church."—P. B.

4 "Of Ceremonies."-P. B.

Thus Cranmer's main aim in drawing up the English Book of Common Prayer was to follow closely the old familiar Latin service books, except where he perceived they required simplifying or purifying. Accordingly, the Breviary, purged of its frequent invocation of saints; the Missal, with its central doctrine of a sacrifice of the "Host" significantly omitted; the Manual; and the Pontifical of the Sarum Use, formed the basis of the Valuable additions were, however, made from new Liturgy. Cranmer was indebted both to Eastern liturgies, and to the Breviary of a Spanish Cardinal named Quignon, but especially to a Lutheran service book compiled by Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, 1 from which many of the additions in the Litany, Communion, and Baptismal offices were borrowed. The service books published by the two eminent foreign refugees, Valerandus Pollanus and John a'Lasco, were also supposed to have furnished suggestions to Cranmer in his great task. Several fresh Collects were introduced, and those of venerable antiquity were beautifully rendered into English in the inimitable devotional language of Cranmer. "He borrowed and learnt and adapted." it has been well said, "from various sources, but whatever he touched he adorned. Under his hands the rudest and simplest of prayers assumed a perfection of form and expression, and grew into one of the finest monuments of sacred literary art." 2

In spite of Gardiner's contention that the First Prayer Book was capable of being reconciled with the medieval doctrine of Transubstantiation, there is no doubt of Cranmer's intention of deliberately excluding that belief, and although from its ambiguity of language it may have been, probably designedly, tolerant of the Lutheran doctrine of a Corporal Presence, yet it was equally patient of the "Reformed" teaching on the Eucharist, to which Cranmer himself approximated. Thus the changes introduced in the Second Book signified the adoption of no new doctrinal position, but merely a more careful expression of what had been

found capable of a double interpretation.

Thus not only were the words of administration (supposed to have been borrowed from a Lutheran formula ³) changed, but the sentence in the post-Communion thanksgiving (also adopted from a Lutheran source), "for that Thou hast vouchsafed to feed us in these holy mysteries with the spiritual food of the most precious

² Pollard, Cranmer, p. 223.
³ Dimock, History of Prayer Book, p. 21, note 2.

He was excommunicated by the Pope in 1546 and deprived in 1547.

Body and Blood of Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ," was altered into "for that Thou hast vouchsafed to feed us who have duly received these holy mysteries." The Consecration Prayer also no longer used the equivocal language of "making here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the me-morial which Thy Son hath willed us to make"; and similar alterations seemed to indicate clearly that not only were "the innovators resolved that it should henceforth be impossible to trace in the new Communion Office any resemblance, however innocuous, to the ancient Mass," but that the Lutheran teaching on the Sacrament should also find no support in the revised

Liturgy.

It may be well here to consider more particularly the doctrinal and ecclesiastical position of the leading Reformers. Although they were then becoming known as "Protestants," a name which had been first applied to the German Reformers at the Diet of Spires in 1529, who had published a solemn "protestation" or declaration of their appeal to Holy Scripture as the supreme and final authority in matters of faith,² this appellation by no means implied any departure from the principles of the Catholic faith as taught by the primitive Church, but rather the reassertion of cardinal doctrines which had been obscured or perverted by the increasing corruption of the medieval Church. Thus they strenuously adhered to the sufficiency and final authority of Holy Scripture, a principle universally accepted by the early Church. "We will answer and prove," wrote a number of eminent Protestant martyrs during their imprisonment in 1554, "out of the infallible verity, even the very Word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient Fathers in Christ's Church, this our faith." "We confess and believe all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament. to be the very Word of God, and the judge of all controversies and matters of religion. We believe and confess that the Catholic Church embraces and follows the doctrines of those books in all matters of religion, and is to be heard accordingly."3 consider," said Cranmer in the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum,

1 Gasquet and Bishop, ut supra, p. 291.

3 Foxe, vol. vi. p. 552.

In defining the "true and holy Church" they declare "that there is no sure doctrine but such as is conformable to the Word of God; the Lord forbids the teaching of any other doctrine. This Word is the only truth; it is the sure rule of all doctrine and of all life, and can never fail or deceive us."— D'Aubigné, ut supra, vol. iv. p. 61 (1845).

"that the authority of the orthodox Fathers is by no means to be despised; for they have many excellent and useful observations. But that the Holy Scriptures should be interpreted by their decisions we do not allow. For the Holy Scriptures ought to be to us both the rules and judges of all Christian doctrine." Thus Article V. of 1553 stated that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is neither read therein nor may be proved thereby . . . no man ought to be constrained to believe as an article of faith," and Bishop Jewel, in his famous Apology of the Church of England, describes the Scriptures as "the very sure and infallible rule whereunto all ecclesi-

astical doctrine ought to be called to account." 2

But although the Reformers, by sweeping away medieval abuses, were anxious to restore the primitive purity of the Catholic faith, their opponents, who still adhered to the Papal system, endeavoured to appropriate the exclusive use of the word "Catholic" and to associate "Protestantism" with a denial of all true orthodoxy. But, as Canon Dixon well points out, the Reformers "who let themselves be called Protestants were never weary of declaring themselves Catholic," 3 and "the opposite of Catholic is not Protestant but heretic; the opposite of Protestant is not Catholic but Papist." 4 It is specially important to emphasize this truth at the present time in view of a growing tendency amongst a certain school of thought to confuse the precise connotation of these two terms, and render them antagonistic. The English Reformation proved conclusively that the essence of its "Protestantism" consisted far more in its positive reassertion of and return to, the true principles and practices of primitive Catholicity, than in its merely negative repudiation of Papal claims and doctrines. Thus the Reformed Church of England is essentially Protestant just because it is truly Catholic. For it should be carefully borne in mind that, from the origin and history of the word, Protestantism implies a "witnessing for" the true Catholic position of the early Church, and only as a melancholy consequence of this, a "protest against" the medieval departure from it.

² Part ii. chap. ix. p. 28 (1852).

¹ Quoted in Goode, Divine Rule of Faith and Practice, p. 321 (1903).

The Reformers at the Westminster Disputation 1559, declared, "We never departed from the faith of the true and Catholic Church of Christ... We are of the true Catholic Church and maintain the verity thereof."—Foxe, vol. viii. pp. 681, 690.

4 Dixon, vol. iv. p. 222.

is the position which has been always claimed by the greatest divines of the Church since the Reformation.

Thus, writing in 1625, Dr. Thomas Jackson, whom a prominent modern Churchman has described as "one of the best and greatest minds our Church has nurtured," goes so far as to say, "We Protestants of reformed Churches, who are, if not the only true Christians on earth, yet the truest Christians, and the most conspicuous members of the holy Catholic Church, as militant here on earth, dare not vouchsafe to bestow the name of Catholic upon any Papist . . . for their faith, not purified from the additions of the second Nicene and Trent Councils, can be no Catholic faith." The leaders of the "Oxford Movement" also stated in their authorised Catechism that the branches of the Church which "had continued both in the doctrine and fellowship of the Apostles" were "those called Protestant Episcopal

in England, Ireland, and Scotland."3

On the question of Church polity the English Reformers not only maintained episcopacy as practically expedient at the time, but also as a most ancient and scriptural form of government which had been handed down from the time of the Apostles. Cranmer, however, frankly admitted that "in the beginning of Christ's religion bishops and priests were no two things, but both one office," and at one time he appears to have held that "princes and governors as well as bishops may make priests," and that "a bishop or priest needed no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient." In the Catechism set forth by his authority in 1548, there is, however, no hint of these novel opinions, "The ministration of God's word, which our Lord Jesus Christ did first institute, was derived from the apostles unto others after them by imposition of hands and giving of the Holy Ghost, from the apostles' time to our days. This was the consecration, orders, and unction of the apostles, whereby they at the beginning made bishops and priests, and this shall continue in the Church even to the world's end." 5 It soon became evident, however, that the Reformers did not regard episcopacy as essential to the existence of a true Church, as they were anxious to live in

¹ The late Dr. E. B. Pusey.

² Two Treatises on the Church, pp. 147 and 152.

³ Quoted by Archbishop Davidson in House of Lords, August 1, 1910.— Church Times Report.

⁴ Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 281-6, Records, No. 21.

⁵ Cranmer's Catechism, Sermon on the Keys, p. 196 (1829).

the fullest communion and fellowship with the foreign Reformers, who were either deprived of, or who had forsaken that form of government.¹ Thus Cranmer had earnestly striven throughout the reign of Edward VI to obtain the presence in England of prominent Protestant divines from the Continent, such as Melancthon, Calvin, and Bullinger, to join in a "godly synod," "to attempt an agreement upon the chief heads of ecclesiastical doctrine," and especially on the Lord's Supper; in order that they might more effectually refute the errors which were being established by the Romanists at the Council of Trent. In Mary's reign also, he condemned as "gross ignorance" and "arrogant boldness" the theory that "no Church could be the true Church of God, but that which standeth by ordinary succession of bishops

in such pompous and glorious sort as now is seen." 2

On the crucial question of the doctrine of the Eucharist, Cranmer and the leading Reformers, as we have already noticed, not only repudiated the medieval doctrines of a propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass and Transubstantiation, but also rejected the Lutheran theory of a Corporal Presence of Christ under the forms of bread and wine. Their views were practically identical with those of Calvin and the more moderate of the "Reformed" divines, and were not far distant from the opinions of Zwingle, whose sacramental teaching is usually misrepresented. "Grace," said Zwingle, "is conferred along with the sacraments, but not by them as the channels;" "I believe, that in the Holy Eucharist the real body of Christ is present to the eye of faith, that is, to those who thank the Lord for the benefits conferred on us in Christ His Son." 3 "We believe that Christ is truly in the Supper; . . . we eat here spiritually what exists in Heaven naturally . . . a true body is eaten in spirit, mind, and soul."4

The Helvetic Confession of 1566 declares that "the faithful receive, by the working of Christ through the Holy Ghost, the flesh and blood of the Lord, and do feed on them to everlasting life. In this sort is the Supper of the Lord accomplished

² Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 11, 432-4.

^{1 &}quot;This commonwealth of the true Church," wrote Hooper, "is known by these two marks; the pure preaching of the Gospel and the right use of the Sacraments. . . Such as teach people to know the Church by these signs, namely, the traditions of men, and the succession of bishops, teach wrong."—Early Writings, pp. 81-2.

 ³ Cf. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, p. 588, n. (Murdock).
 ⁴ Quoted in Harrison, Dr. Pusey's Challenge Answered, vol. ii. pp. 276-9 (1871).

spiritually, thus are the bread and wine a sacrament unto us, and not bare and naked signs." 1

Both Calvin and Bucer clearly repudiated the idea that the elements were bare signs. "The proper body and blood of Jesus Christ is received," said Calvin, " only by faith. . . . If we believe the truth of God, we must confess that there is an inward substance of the Sacrament in the Lord's Supper joined to the outward sign; and so, that, as the bread is given by the hands, the body of Christ is also communicated, that we be partakers of Him." "The presence of Christ in the Supper," said Bucer, "is a spiritual presence, a presence of faith; he is received verily indeed by faith," and in answering Luther he said that "their doctrine and belief concerning the Sacrament was that the true body and blood of Christ was truly presented, given, and received, together with the visible signs of bread and wine, by the operation of Our Lord, and by virtue of His institution according to the plain sound and sense of His words; and that not only Zwinglius and Œcolampadius had so taught, but they also, in the public confessions of the Churches of Upper Germany and other writings, confessed it." 4

Similar language was employed by Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and even Hooper. "What availeth it to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such-like popery," said Cranmer, "so long as the two chief roots remain unpulled up? . . . The very body of the tree, or rather, the roots of the weeds, is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar (as they call it), and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest, for the salvation of the quick and dead. Which roots, if they be suffered to grow in the Lord's vineyard, they will overspread all the ground again with the old errors and superstitions." ⁵ "I never said," he replied to Gardiner, "that Christ is utterly absent, but I ever affirm that He is truly and spiritually present, and truly and spiritually exhibited unto the godly receivers, but corporally is He neither in the receivers, nor in or under the forms

¹ Hall, Harmony of Protestant Confessions, pp. 316-7, and 323 (1842), and quoted in Rogers on Thirty-nine Articles, p. 283 (1607), and Cosin's Works, vol. iv. p. 166.

² Cf. Harold Browne, Thirty-nine Articles, p. 703, and Harrison, ut supra, vol. ii. p. 291, and Cosin's Works, vol. iv. p. 168.

³ Strype, Cranmer, Appendix No. xlvi.

⁴ Cosin on Transubstantiation, chap. ii. 13; Works, vol. iv. p. 164.

⁵ Works, vol. i. p. 6.

of bread and wine." The bread and wine "be no vain or bare tokens... but in the due ministration of the sacraments God is present, working with His word and sacraments," and "therefore I say that Christ giveth Himself truly to be eaten, chewed, and digested; but all is spiritually with faith and not with mouth." 1

Ridley, who declared that he had rejected the theory of Transubstantiation through reading a book written in the ninth century by a French monk named Ratramnus or Bertram,2 said, "The true Church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually, and by a sacramental signification, but not by the corporal presence of the body of His flesh."3 The same doctrine is taught by Latimer. "The bread," he says, "representeth His body, so that we go unto it worthily and receive it with a good faith. Then we be assured that we feed upon Him spiritually. And like as the bread nourisheth the body, so the soul feedeth upon the very body and blood of Christ by faith, believing Him to be a Saviour which delivered man from sin." 4 Hooper also declares, in his Confession of Faith, that "The sacraments are not void and empty signs, but full—that is, they are such signs as do exhibit and give the thing that they signify indeed."5

3 *Ibid.*, p. 236.
 5 Later Writings, p. 45.

¹ Works, i. pp. 11, 15, 127.

² Cf. Works, p. 206. ⁴ Remains, p. 127.

CHAPTER XI

THE MARIAN REACTION

ONE of the last of the high-handed acts of the scheming Northumberland was to persuade the young King, who since the beginning of the year (1553) had been seriously ill, to alter the Act of Succession to the throne. On the pretext of safeguarding the Reformed religion, he proposed that Edward should, by his will, in defiance of the Act of Parliament, disinherit his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and settle the Crown on the youthful and accomplished Lady Jane Grey, a somewhat remote claimant to the throne through her mother, the Duchess of Suffolk. The judges and lawyers declared the plan to be treasonable, but both they and the Council were compelled to subscribe the will. Cranmer, convinced that the act was perjury, as he had already sworn to Mary's succession, at first resolutely resisted Northumberland's threats, but at length yielded on the express importunity of the young King, who exhorted him "not to be more repugnant to his will than the rest of the Council were." 2

Edward VI died on the 6th of July, and Northumberland immediately proclaimed Lady Jane, queen, and endeavoured to seize the Princess Mary. With the death of Edward, however, his despotic power suddenly vanished. Detested by all parties and classes on account of his arrogance, cruelty, and rapacity, the people rapidly flocked to Mary's standard. The Council soon deserted Northumberland, and on July 19th the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, proclaimed Queen Mary, on Tower Hill, to the unbounded delight of the people. Bishop Ridley, who had been rash enough to preach in favour of Queen Jane, was imprisoned on a charge of treason, in company with Northumberland, and many of the other conspirators.

Besides the fact that the support of Lady Jane meant the

² Strype, Cranmer, Appendix Ixxiv.

¹ He had previously married his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane.

continuance of the odious and tyrannical policy of Northumberland, there is no doubt that the majority of the people were still in favour of the "old religion," while Mary's assurance to the men of Suffolk, that she would make no change in religion, but be contented with the private exercise of her own faith,1 greatly allayed the apprehensions of the Protestant party from her accession. Her early training, however, the unjust treatment meted out by Henry VIII to herself and her mother, and the petty persecution she had endured during her brother's reign, had not only embittered Mary's spirit, but disposed her to a bigoted adherence to her mother's faith. There is little doubt that her own inclinations favoured an immediate restoration of Papal authority, but at present she allowed herself to be guided by wiser and more moderate counsels. Her cousin, the Emperor Charles V, warned her "not to be hasty, but conciliatory, and wait for the determination of Parliament," 2 and accordingly, a royal proclamation was soon issued, stating that although the Queen "would be glad if all her subjects would quietly and charitably embrace the religion she had professed from her infancy, of her gracious disposition and clemency, she would not compel any of her subjects thereunto, until such time as further order may be taken by common assent." 3 At the same time a tumult which occurred at Paul's Cross served as a pretext for forbidding all preaching without the Queen's special license.

One of Mary's first acts had been to restore the five deprived bishops 4 to their sees, and Gardiner was in addition created Lord Chancellor. Northumberland was condemned to death, in spite of a cowardly attempt to obtain a reprieve by professing a conversion to the "old" faith, while his unwilling and unfortunate tool, the helpless Lady Jane, was detained in the Tower on a charge of treason. Many of the Reformers were already in prison for disobeying the Injunction against preaching, while the foreign refugees, and numbers of the Reforming clergy, including four bishops, sought safety from impending persecution in aight to the Continent.5 Latimer determined to abide the storm, declaring that "he would go willingly, and render an

¹ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 302, and Lingard, vol. v. p. 270 (1870).

² Dixon, vol. iv. p. 13.

Gee and Hardy, p. 374.
 Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, and Day.

⁵ Strype puts the number of exiles at over eight hundred.—Cranmer. vol. ii. p. 17.

account of his doctrine to his prince." Cranmer also courageously decided that, as he had been the chief agent in the late changes, it was his duty to remain and defend them. "If I were accused of parricide or any such crime," he wrote, "I might perhaps be induced to fly, though innocent. But now that it is a question of my faith, not towards man but God, and of the truth of Holy Scripture against Papal errors, I am resolved to act with the constancy that becomes a Christian prelate, and to

quit my life rather than my country." 1

In spite of the fact that the laws enjoining the use of the Reformed Prayer Book were still in force, the Mass and the Latin services were being set up in many places, the Government openly encouraging this violation of the laws. It was even reported that Cranmer had offered to restore the Mass at Canterbury, a false rumour which led the Archbishop into the rash act of drawing up a declaration strongly condemning the Mass, and offering, in company with Peter Martyr, to defend publicly, not only the Communion Service, "but the whole doctrine and order of religion" lately set forth, "as more pure and agreeable to the Word of God than any sort of religion that had been used in England these thousand years." 2

This document obtaining publicity, Cranmer was sent to the Tower on a charge of "spreading seditious bills." He was soon followed by Holgate, Archbishop of York, while Hooper, Coverdale, Latimer, and many others of the more prominent Reformers, were already in prison. In the following November, Cranmer was tried for treason and condemned to death. Vainly the fallen Archbishop appealed to the Queen for pardon, with the plea that as she had already pardoned so many of the other Councillors, "who," he declared, "travailed not so much to dissuade both the King and his counsel as I did," 3 she would not refuse mercy to him. "I will never, God willing, be the author of sedition, to move subjects from the obedience of their heads and rulers, which is an offence most detestable. To private subjects it appertaineth not to reform things, but quietly to suffer that they cannot amend." 4 In spite of the fact that Cranmer is reported to have successfully interceded for her life with Henry, Mary was possessed of an inflexible hatred against

¹ Godwin, Praesulibus Angliae, p. 141 (1743), (Art. Cranmer).

Strype, Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 6.
 Ibid., No. lxxiv. Appendix.
 Ibid.
 Cf. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 307.

him for pronouncing the sentence of divorce against her mother, and was determined that he should suffer. Thus the carefully "packed" Parliament, from which Mary had just obtained a confirmation of the marriage between Henry and Catherine, had laid all the blame of the divorce on Cranmer, ignoring the fact that Gardiner had actively promoted the matter long before Cranmer's opinion was asked, and that both Houses of Convocation had concurred in the sentence.

Cranmer's status as an ecclesiastic, however, prevented Mary from wreaking an immediate vengeance on him, as her conscience would not suffer her to lay "violent hands" on a churchman before he had been canonically deprived by the Pope. He was therefore kept in prison for a subsequent trial and condemnation

for heresy.

The Parliament did not prove as subservient as the Queen and Council desired. It refused to abolish the Royal Supremacy, it presented a petition against the proposed marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain, and the Commons were only persuaded after prolonged debates to repeal all the statutes made concerning religion during the late reign, and restore "all such divine service and administration of sacraments as were commonly used in the last year of King Henry VIII's reign." By this one Act, the Book of Common Prayer, the Forty-two Articles, and Communion in both kinds were all set aside.

As most of the Reformed clergy were either in prison or in exile, Convocation was composed almost entirely of those in favour of the "old religion." Weston, the Prolocutor, informed them that their work was "to rebuild the walls that the heretics had broken down."2 The Book of Common Prayer he described as "blasphemous and erroneous," and Ponet's Catechism with the Forty-two Articles as "pestiferous and heretical." He proposed two declarations for the subscription of the clergy, one condemning the Catechism, and the other asserting the natural presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist. Five members, however, were bold enough to refuse assent to the reassertion of Transubstantiation, and demanded a public disputation on this burning question. The discussion lasted four days, and was conducted with much heat. Archdeacon Philpot. on behalf of the Reformers, maintained the unequal combat with much ability, but Weston's conduct was very overbearing, and

¹ Gee and Hardy, p. 379.

² Dixon, vol. iv. p. 73.

the result, as might have been expected, was entirely fruitless, Weston significantly telling the dissentients, "You have the word, but we have the sword."

Meanwhile the rumour of the Queen's betrothal to Philip of Spain created the greatest discontent. The Protestant party feared the establishment of the Inquisition and a cruel repressive policy, such as that pursued in Spain and the Netherlands, while Englishmen generally were sceptical that any safeguards could be sufficient to prevent England becoming a mere province of Spain. In spite of the fact that Gardiner had obtained terms excluding Philip from any real power in the government, and safeguarding the independence of England in the event of Mary predeceasing him, the opposition to this foreign alliance was persistent and widespread. In January 1554 Sir Peter Carew headed a premature revolt in Devonshire, while the Duke of Suffolk endeavoured ineffectually to arouse the Midlands, but the rising in Kent under Sir Thomas Wyat was of a far more serious character. A force from London sent against the rebels was easily persuaded to support Wyat in his professed design of preserving the nation from the Spanish yoke, and the insurgent leader boldly marched on London and advanced as far as Ludgate before he was forced to surrender. Wyat, Suffolk, and about one hundred of the ringleaders suffered death for this treasonable attempt, while it was also the immediate cause of the execution of Lord Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane, his beautiful and innocent child wife, whose short but tragic career was thus violently cut short at the age of sixteen.

Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and the Princess Elizabeth were both accused of complicity in the rebellion, and although it was found impossible to obtain satisfactory proofs of Elizabeth's guilt, she was confined to the Tower. The attempt of Renard, the Spanish ambassador, to procure her execution was apparently frustrated, at this time, by Gardiner, who, at a later date, is reported to have strongly urged the necessity of getting rid of her, on the plea that "it was vain to lop off the branches while

the tree was suffered to stand."2

The restoration of the Mass and the old Latin services, and the readornment of the churches with the altars, images, and costly decorations which had been so ruthlessly confiscated or destroyed during the previous reign, were not accomplished

¹ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 341.

² Rapin, bk. xvi. p. 65; but see Lingard, vol. v. 215 n.

without numerous signs of opposition, or acts of profanity and irreverence, for which the fanatical perpetrators usually paid dearly.\(^1\) Accordingly, in March, the Queen issued a long list of Injunctions diligently enjoining the bishops to repress "heresies and notable crimes," "unlawful books and ballads," and ordering all manner of processions and "laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used," to "be frequented, used, and observed." The bishops were also to proceed "with all speed" to deprive all priests "who had married and used women as their wives."\(^2\)

Bishop Bonner had already deprived all the married clergy in his diocese, and also compelled them to forsake their wives.³ These deprivations not only occasioned great suffering, as no less than three thousand clergy appear to have been summarily ejected,⁴ but the compulsory divorce from their wives was scandalously unjust, as these marriages had been fully legalised

in the late reign.

At the same time, by virtue of her supremacy over the Church, Mary deprived several of the Reforming bishops on the ground of their marriage, or because of "their erroneous doctrine and inordinate lives." By this means seven sees were declared vacant, and as Bishops Barlow, Ponet, Coverdale, and Scory soon managed to escape to the Continent, abundant opportunity was afforded for the appointment of new men who would support

the Government in their reactionary religious policy.

Convocation, which met in April 1554, decided to submit three propositions concerning the Eucharist to the imprisoned bishops as a test of heresy. Accordingly, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were sent to Oxford, and required separately to engage in an elaborate public disputation on the three crucial articles, that "after consecration the natural body and blood of Christ were really present in the Sacrament; and no substance of bread and wine, or any other substance than the substance of Christ remained; and that in the Mass was the life-giving propitiatory sacrifice for the sins both of the living and the dead." Cranmer was called upon to open the disputation in the presence of the most learned divines representing both universities. Confronting

4 Burnet, vol. v. p. 272.

¹ A cat was suspended to the gallows on Cheapside, draped like a priest, and holding in her paws a representation of a wafer.

² Burnet, vol. iv. p. 302, *Records*, No. 10. ³ Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 39.

a hostile audience, he was frequently interrupted and browbeaten in a disgraceful manner. In fact, the whole disputation was a mere pretence, as Weston, the Prolocutor, informed Cranmer that they had not assembled to call settled doctrines in question, but to confound heretics. Cranmer, however, firmly maintained his position. "His true body," he explained, "is truly present to them that truly receive Him, but spiritually. For when He said, 'This is My body,' it is all one as if He had said, 'This is the breaking of My body; this is the shedding of My blood. As oft as you shall do this it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of My body and the shedding of My blood; that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.'" He also delivered a written explication of his views, which has been rightly described as a "learned, moderate, and noble exposition."

Ridley was also subjected to the same unfair treatment of scorn, ridicule, and unseemly interruption, which he met by far more resolute methods than the patient Cranmer employed. "Holy Scripture," he declared, "allowed no order of sacrificing priests save those of Aaron or Melchizedek." "This carnal presence is contrary to the Word of God," and "falsifieth the Catholic faith of the Church."

It is impossible to follow in detail these lengthy but fruitless discussions. The aged Latimer, on account of his failing memory, was obliged to rely mainly on Cranmer's treatise on the Lord's Supper.

At the conclusion of this memorable disputation, Weston, claiming that the three bishops had been vanquished, pronounced sentence against them as heretics. As, however, the heresy laws had not yet been revived, they had to undergo a further period of incarceration before they could be legally executed.

Cranmer and Ridley both publicly protested against the unfairness of the disputation,⁵ and a rumour that it was intended to conduct a similar proceeding at Cambridge, to try a number of prominent Reformers imprisoned in London, led these divines to publish a letter declining to engage in such a partial encounter. The letter, which was signed by Hooper, Rogers, Ferrar, Philpot,

¹ Foxe, vol. vi. p. 445.

² Works, vol. i. p. 396.

³ Dixon, vol. iv. p. 189.
⁴ Ridley's Works, pp. 195–202.
⁵ See Foxe, vol. vi. pp. 535-6.

Crome, and Taylor, contained a careful confession of their faith

on the leading controversial doctrines.1

Mary was married to Prince Philip of Spain on July 27, 1554. The cartloads of Spanish gold which he brought with him did a little to soften the general dislike of the union, but his arrogant

and haughty bearing soon rendered him most unpopular.

Although the Queen had successfully restored the medieval faith, she had so far been thwarted in accomplishing her cherished design of a full reconciliation with Rome, and a vigorous persecution of all "heretics." She had already petitioned that Cardinal Pole might be sent to England, as Papal Legate, but not only the Emperor's advice, but also the strong aversion displayed by the Commons to the restoration of Papal authority, had convinced Mary of the necessity of delaying his visit until after her marriage with Philip had been achieved. Gardiner also opposed Pole's immediate return, mainly, it has been urged,2 because he feared him as a dangerous rival for the Primacy, but more probably until he could obtain assurances that the present possessors of monastic lands would be undisturbed. He was shrewd enough to know that as long as this point remained uncertain, it would be impossible to restore Papal jurisdiction in England. At length the Pope was persuaded to confirm the alienation of Church lands, and Pole, after many delays, proceeded on his important mission.

A new Parliament met in November, and the electors had been specially admonished to return members of the "wise, grave, and Catholic sort." Pole's attainder was at once reversed, and the Cardinal addressed the Parliament, solemnly inviting the members to return to the obedience of the Holy See. Both Houses expressed their "sincere repentance for their horrible schism," and petitioned for the absolution of the Legate. With the members of both Houses kneeling before him, he pronounced, in the Pope's name, a full absolution for the whole realm, enjoining them as a penance to repeal all the anti-papal laws. Thus, the great reconciliation, surely the most humiliating national act since the abject submission of King John, was accomplished, the Queen shedding tears of piety and joy, and the members embracing one another with the words.

"This day we are born again." 4

Two days later, at St. Paul's, before a splendid and stately

See p. 85.
 Burnet, vol. vi. p. 240, *Records*, No. 14.
 Burnet, vol. iii. p. 331.
 Cf. Dixon, vol. iv. p. 273.

assembly, including the King and Queen, the Papal Legate, and the Lord Mayor, appeared the humiliating spectacle of Bishop Gardiner beseeching all the people to rejoice with him that at last the "hour had come" when once more the supremacy of "their holy father the Pope" had been restored, and deploring the large share he had taken in bringing about the schism of the past twenty years.¹

The clergy in Convocation had also obtained absolution from Pole on December 6th, praying the King and Queen, at the same time, that the lands and properties of the monasteries which had been alienated might not be restored, "because they saw how difficult, and, indeed, impossible it would prove, and how much it would endanger the peace of the realm and the

unity of the Catholic Church."2

This petition was, as we have already seen, the price demanded for the reconciliation with Rome, and thus the Cardinal was reluctantly obliged to grant a full dispensation to the present holders of monastic property of complete immunity from all ecclesiastical censures. This all-important dispensation was confirmed by Parliament, which further enacted that all suits concerning these lands should be heard in the Queen's, and not in the ecclesiastical, courts, and that any attempt to disturb the possessors by virtue of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction would involve the penalty of a Praemunire. This provision was embodied in the great Act of Repeal passed during this session, which enumerated and repealed 'all Acts "made since the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII against the supreme authority of the Pope's Holiness." 3

On the petition of the Lower House of Convocation the heresy laws were also revived by the re-enactment of the three statutes of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V against the

Lollards.

Thus Mary had obtained from a compliant Parliament the fulness of her desire; the entire work of Henry's "Reformation Parliament" had been swept aside, Papal supremacy fully restored, and every facility provided for the fearful storm of persecution which was about to burst forth over the country. With the revival of the heresy laws the Reformers were completely at the mercy of their enemies, and although it would be a mistake to suppose that this sudden reaction was due to a

² Gee and Hardy, pp. 395-6. Gee and Hardy, pp. 393-409.

genuine universal change of opinion in favour of Rome, yet the majority of those who still secretly detested Papal domination were willing for the time to sacrifice their convictions to the idea of national unity and absolute obedience to the will of the Sovereign. The laity sheltered themselves under the plea that it was for the clergy to determine matters of faith, and that they themselves were absolved from personal responsibility in obeying the commands of the Sovereign, because, in the language of a contemporary, "the prince doth challenge to herself all duties that appertaineth to man, before kin, before friends, or any other, whatsoever they be, and the absolute authority of the prince is from the Word of God, which cannot be dispensed with." 1

Although it is somewhat of an unprofitable and invidious task to attempt to apportion the blame for the horrible tragedy of the next four years, there is abundant evidence to prove that the chief responsibility must rest with the unhappy Queen, who was apparently convinced that the salvation of her soul and the prosperity of her kingdom depended on a thorough extirpation of heresy. Each fresh disappointment or calamity—the failure of her fond hopes for a male heir, the heartless treatment of her husband, the loss of Calais—only stimulated this misguided and unfortunate bigot to fresh endeavours to reduce all her subjects to the "unity of the Catholic Church." Even Philip, although by nature more cruel and fanatical than his wife, appears at times to have counselled moderation in the treatment of "heretics." There is also good reason to believe that Gardiner's participation in the persecution was due rather to royal pressure than personal inclination, while the humane and cultured Pole, although he regarded the Papal supremacy as the only safeguard of the Faith, and approved in theory of capital punishment for heresy, 2 professed himself an enemy to extreme measures in England. Mary, on the other hand, openly and deliberately advocated this policy. "Touching the punishment of heretics," she informed the Council, "... that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion. within London I would wish none to be burnt without some of the Council's presence, and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same time." There is little doubt, therefore,

¹ Quoted in Pollard, History of England, p. 132.

² Cf. Massingberd, ut supra, p. 430. ³ Collier, Church History, vol. vi. p. 85 (1840); Burnet, iv. p. 349, Records, No. 22,

that the pious but fanatical Queen, on whose name posterity has bestowed such an unpleasant prefix, was the real author of the fires of martyrdom which excited such universal horror, and sounded the death-knell of Roman Catholicism in England.¹

It should be carefully borne in mind that these Marian martyrs were condemned for heresy, and not for treason or disloyalty to the Government, of which scarcely any of them were guilty, and that the chief point in their "heresy" was the denial of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Although they were required to accept the supremacy of the Pope, a glance at their trials will show that it was their views on the Eucharist which was the main point at issue.

An appeal of the preachers, who had been detained in prison in London without trial, that they might have the opportunity of proving that they were "neither heretics nor cut off from the true Catholic universal Church of Christ, and that the doctrine set forth by Edward VI was the true doctrine of Christ's

Catholic Church," 2 precipitated the reign of terror.

John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who was the first to seal his faith with his blood, was examined before Gardiner, and exhorted him to accept the supremacy of the Pope. Rogers pertinently replied that it was Gardiner and the other bishops who had "brought him to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the Bishop of Rome when he was a young man," and now they wished him to believe the contrary. As he refused also to believe in the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, he was condemned to be burned. His request to have a last interview with his wife and children before his execution was most inhumanly refused by Bishop Bonner, and he suffered with great constancy at Smithfield on February 4, 1555.

Others soon followed. Laurence Saunders, a London rector, was burned at Coventry on February 8th. Bishop Hooper, in his own diocese of Gloucester, endured for three-quarters of an

¹ A lady wrote telling Bonner that "this cruel burning of true Christian men hath given a greater shake towards the overthrowing of your papistical kingdom than you shall be able to recover again these seven years."—Foxe, vol. vii. p. 713.

² Writings of Bradford, p. 404.

³ Foxe, vol. vi. p. 594.
⁴ Bonner actually told Saunders that "all were heretics who did teach and believe that the administration of the Sacraments and all orders of the Church are most pure which do come most night to the order of the primitive Church."—Foxe, vol. vi. p. 615.

hour the horrible torture of a slow fire fed by green wood; Dr. Rowland Taylor cheerfully suffered amongst his own flock at Hadleigh, in Suffolk, while on March 30th Ferrar, who had been deprived of the bishopric of St. David's, was burned at Carmarthen, enduring the torments of the fire without the least sign of shrinking, as a pre-arranged test of the truth of his doc-

The Government, anticipating that a few examples of severity would have reduced the "heretics" to submission, were amazed, and for a time alarmed, at the perseverance and fortitude of the Reformers. For, as a Romanist historian admits, "an equal constancy was displayed by all; and though pardon was offered them at the last moment, they scorned to purchase the continuance of life by feigning an assent to doctrines which they did not believe."2

The persecutions, however, continued, although it would appear that many of the bishops were already sickening of the ghastly business,3 as on May 24 a peremptory letter was issued by the King and Queen to Bonner and the other bishops, marvelling that some of the heretics had not been "proceeded with according to the order of justice," and admonishing them

to be more zealous in future in executing the law." 4

And so the barbarous crusade was relentlessly waged for the next three and a half years. Neither age nor sex was regarded, men and women, belonging mostly to the humbler and illiterate classes, being condemned to the flames, often in batches, for their steadfast adherence to the simple truths they had learned from the Scriptures in their mother tongue. So fierce and vindictive was the spirit displayed that even the churches in which "heretics" had been peacefully buried were regarded as polluted. At Cambridge the bodies of Bucer and Fagius were torn from their resting-places and burned, while the body of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford was dug up and cast on a dunghill. The remains of a London thief were, after a judicious inquiry, disinterred and burned, because it was discovered that he had prayed at his

¹ Foxe, vol. vii. p. 26.

4 Foxe, vol. vii. p. 87, and see Dixon, vol. iv. p. 363.

Lingard, Hist. of England, vol. v. p. 230.
 Bishop Pates of Worcester is reported to have told a Protestant physician that he need not fear for his opinions because "he was resolved not to injure or punish anyone on account of the faith, which does not propagate itself by force and terror, but by the influence and persuasions of reason." -Godwin, Praesulibus Angliae, pp. 470-1 (1743).

execution for deliverance "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities."

Happily the evidence proves that this furious persecution was confined to certain districts, and that the North and West of England almost entirely escaped. Thus, in the dioceses of Durham and Lincoln there were no sufferers. Bernard Gilpin, renowned for his piety and zeal, pursued his apostolic ministry without interruption under the generous protection of his great uncle, Bishop Tunstall. By far the largest number of martyrdoms occurred in the diocese of London, as Bonner, whom one historian asserts "distinguished himself by a fury unbecoming, not only a clergyman and a Christian, but even a cannibal,"1 seems to have been specially active in the suppression of "heresy." No less than one hundred and twenty-eight executions are recorded in this diocese, and altogether the number 2 of those who laid down their lives in defence of the Reformed Faith was little short of three hundred. Even a Roman Catholic historian, after making every conceivable deduction, admits that "in the space of four years, almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinions, a number at the contemplation of which the mind is struck with horror."3

The case of the three most notable of the Reformers deserves particular mention. Pole issued a special commission in September to try Ridley and Latimer at Oxford, but they both steadily adhered to their former opinions. "In the Sacrament there is a certain change," said Ridley, "in that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth His body." "Christ," said Latimer, "made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice." "I confess," he said, "there is a Catholic Church, to the determination of which I will stand; but not the Church which you call Catholic, which sooner might be termed diabolic. . . . It is one thing to say Romish Church, and another thing to say Catholic Church." They were both condemned as obstinate heretics, and degraded; Bishop

¹ Rapin, bk. xvi. p. 58.
² Cf. Strype, Cranmer, Appendix lxxxiv.
Foxe places the number at 284, and although he wrote as a zealous Protestant partisan, and was inclined to accept statements on insufficient evidence, yet his numerous modern critics have failed to overthrow the substantial accuracy of his story.

Brooks declaring that Ridley opposed his own "singular conceit to the judgment of the Catholic Church." "Latimer," he said, "leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit." On October 16, 1555, both the bishops were led out to execution "in the ditch over against Balliol College." Latimer, whose sufferings were soon over, encouraged Ridley with the memorable and prophetic words, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as, I trust, shall never be put out," but Ridley endured fearful

agony, the fire for a long time only reaching his legs.

Cranmer's trial began on September 12, and he was charged with adultery for having married, and perjury for breaking his oath to the Pope, as well as with heresy on the Eucharist. As he had received the pall from Rome, he was remanded till the Pope should try his cause and pronounce sentence against him. Meanwhile he appealed for the intervention of the Queen, boldly pointing out his inability to accept the Papal Supremacy because the Pope by his false doctrines and claims "played the part of Anti-Christ, Christ's enemy and adversary." Pole replied to this appeal in a long letter charging Cranmer with fraud, dissimulation, and perjury, in making oath to the Pope at his consecration.

On February 14, 1556, the Pope's sentence having been received, Cranmer was publicly degraded, Bonner most un-

charitably exulting over his humiliation.

It was now that Cranmer's courage and constancy gave way, and the sad story of the terrible fall, which has left an indelible stain on his character, has to be recorded. Realising the triumph to their cause if the great champion of the Reformed party could be led to disavow his convictions, his adversaries used every artifice to persuade the fallen Archbishop to abjure his "heresy." He was liberated from the unhealthy prison in which he had been so long confined, treated with special kindness, and given much freedom in the comfortable lodgings of the Dean of Christ Church; a change which must have specially influenced a man of his gentle and sensitive disposition. He had already been plied with the arguments of two Spanish friars, and induced to sign four successive "submissions," largely equivocal and amounting to little more than a promise of extravagant obedience to lawful

¹ Foxe, vol. vii. pp. 518-47. ² Works, vol. ii. pp. 447-54. ³ Strype, *Cranmer*, Appendix lxxxix.

authority, a logical construction of his theory of the divine right of kings. But under the influence of his changed surroundings and enticed by hopes of pardon, and even restoration to his former dignities, he signed an absolute recantation, in which he acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, declared his belief in Transubstantiation, and anathematised the "whole heresy of Zwingle and Luther." Copies of this were soon circulated, but even this humiliating renunciation was not considered sufficiently abject, and he was required to sign another document, composed probably by Cardinal Pole, vilifying himself and all his past actions as the sole cause of the recent schism, and declaring himself to have been a "blasphemer, insulter, and persecutor" of Christ and the Church; "a confession," it has been well observed, "more shameful to those who dictated it than to the

heart-broken captive who signed it." 2

The Oueen, however, had no intention of sparing Cranmer's life in spite of his repentance, and thus, on March 21, he was taken to St. Mary's to declare publicly his reconciliation before his execution. The fallen Primate, whom an eye-witness described as an "image of sorrow," earnestly exhorted the people to love God, to obey the King and Queen, to live charitably as brethren, and be liberal to the poor. After reciting his faith, to the surprise and consternation of his audience he continued: "Now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth, which here now I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death and to save my life if it might be; and that is all such bills which I have signed with mine own hand since my degradation. . . . As for the Pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine." He was immediately hurried to the stake, and as a sign that this unexpected retractation was final, "he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame . . . crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended.' As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying the whole while."3

However much we may deplore his fatal weakness in the hour of trial, yet as we review his life as a whole and the great and enduring work he accomplished for the English Church, we

Strype, Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 119.
 Pollard, Cranmer, p. 374.
 The account of a Romanist eye-witness quoted in Strype, Cranmer, p. 128.

cannot but agree with a modern verdict that "his merits and services were greater than his faults. . . . He preserved the continuity of the Church of England. He gave to the English Reformation largeness and capacity. . . . He was a greater man than any of his contemporaries. His death completed the circle of five men of episcopal degree, who loosed the yoke of Rome from the neck of the Church of England by the sacrifice of their lives, a glorious crown of bishops, the like of which is set upon the brow of no other Church in Christendom." Gardiner, Cranmer's great antagonist, had died in the previous November, and if he did not openly disapprove, at least, for the last few months of his life, he took no share in the condemnation of the Reformers. Pole, who succeeded Cranmer in the Primacy, although from his tolerant disposition averse from extreme measures in principle, yet did nothing to prevent his subordinates from fiercely persecuting the "heretics" in his own diocese, and towards the end of his life even incited them to greater efforts.²

The disappointment regarding her expected issue seemed to the superstitious Oueen only a further incentive for greater zeal against the "Gospellers," as the Reformers were usually styled, as she is reported to have declared "that nothing could succeed prosperously with her unless all the heretics in prison were burnt, not sparing one." 3 The debasing system of spies and secret informers was employed to hunt out the Reformers, and in February 1557, as the justices were apparently sickened with this hateful work, a certain number of clergy and laity were specially commissioned for this purpose.4 In the last year of her reign Mary carried her morbid fanaticism to such lengths that she refused to allow anyone to pray for a sufferer at the stake, and actually imprisoned a sheriff for presuming to delay the execution of a heretic because he had recanted. As a celebrated Romanist historian frankly admits, "the foulest blot on Mary's character is her long and cruel persecution of the Reformers." 5

On November 17, 1558, the death of this virtuous but misguided, generous ⁶ but unhappy Queen brought the long period of horrible cruelty and unmerited suffering to a close amidst general rejoicing; for, as the French Ambassador declared, "she

Dixon, vol. iv. p. 552.

Strype, Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 97.

² Collier, vol. vi. p. 181. ⁴ Burnet, vol. v. p. 371.

⁵ Lingard, vol. v. p. 259.

⁶ Mary voluntarily surrendered to the Church the first-fruits and tenths acquired by Henry VIII, an estimated annual revenue of £60,000.

lived almost alone, employing all her time in tears, lamentations, and regrets, in writing to try to draw back her husband to her, and in fury against her subjects." Pole, who had served her so faithfully, and whom she had boldly protected against the wrath of the Pope, refusing to execute the Papal bull for his recall, died within twenty-four hours of his royal mistress. A fever which was then raging also carried off about the same time as many as thirteen of the bishops and numbers of the clergy, thus making the way smoother for the restoration of the Reformed religion, which Mary's futile persecuting policy had not only vindicated but even strengthened.

¹ Quoted in Perry, vol. ii. p. 250.

² Collier, vol. vi. p. 160.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONTINENTAL EXILES

BEFORE proceeding to narrate the final settlement of the Reformed religion under Elizabeth, it is important to consider briefly the fortunes of those English exiles who had managed to escape from the impending persecution by flight to the Continent. These comprised a large and influential number both of clergy and laity who had fled to Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Countries. Jewel, who had managed to escape from England, assisted Peter Martyr in his theological studies both at Strasburg and Zurich. John Foxe was occupied at Basle in compiling his famous Acts and Monuments; while quite a number of the Reformers were engaged at Geneva in translating what afterwards was known as the "Geneva Bible," under the supervision of Calvin and Beza.

It was at Frankfort, however, that the serious dissensions occurred, which were destined to have such a sinister influence on the later history of the Reformed Church.

A congregation of French Protestants, expelled from London, arrived there in April 1554, and were granted the use of a church for worship. They were joined in June by a company of English refugees mostly composed of "Puritan" Reformers, including Whittinghame (afterwards Dean of Durham). The magistrates allowed these newcomers the alternate use of the church granted to the French, on the condition that they would agree with the latter in doctrine and ceremonies, and all subscribe to a confession of faith already drawn up by the French. The English. however, obtained permission to settle their own order of service, provided their ceremonies were not repugnant to the French, and accordingly they elected to use the Second Prayer Book of King Edward, after making very considerable alterations in it. Litany and congregational responses were to be discontinued, the surplice proscribed, and no provision allowed for the public reading of Holy Scripture. A cordial invitation was then extended

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to the exiles in Strasburg, Zurich, and other places to unite with them in this church at Frankfort. The exiles at Strasburg and Zurich, however, refused to join them unless they promised strict adherence to the English Liturgy, for the defence of which the "chief authors" were then laying down their lives in England. But the Frankfort congregation declined to accept these conditions, declaring that the Second Prayer Book contained many "unprofitable ceremonies," and asserting that the compilers had intended to make further alterations if opportunity had been given them.¹

Whittinghame and John Knox (who had been invited to become a minister of the Frankfort congregation) then appealed to Calvin concerning the Prayer Book. Calvin, although refusing to condemn it as unlawful, admitted that he saw in it "many tolerable foolish things," and that there was not "that purity which was to be desired," as many things "ought to have been corrected" and many "clean taken away." A compromise was then effected by drawing up an order of service taken partly from

the Prayer Book and partly from a liturgy of Calvin.

In the following March, however, Dr. Cox, who had been King Edward's tutor, arrived with a party of English exiles strongly in favour of the English liturgy, who soon caused great dissensions by insisting on repeating the responses aloud after the minister and even publicly reading the Litany, declaring "that their Church should have an English face." 3 As they declined to sign the Discipline, the congregation at first refused to admit them to membership; but they were at length received at the special intercession of Knox, with the result that they outvoted the "Puritan" party and dismissed Knox from his post as minister. The defeated minority then appealed to the magistrate, who ordered the congregation to conform to the French discipline. Upon this the Prayer Book party accused Knox of treason, informing the magistrates of a book he had written violently assailing the Emperor and Queen Mary. The magistrates, in alarm, ordered Knox to leave the city, and Cox and his party soon obtained permission to use the English liturgy, the Puritans, including Knox, Whittinghame, and Foxe departing to Basle and Geneva, where they were granted the use of a church of their own.

The Frankfort congregation then wrote, giving Calvin an

Whittinghame, Troubles at Frankfort, p. 37 (Arber's edition). Ibid., p. 51.

account of these proceedings, and explaining their attitude regarding the Prayer Book controversy. They assure him that they have not acted hastily, with a desire "unduly to undervalue his authority, which both is and ought to be most highly esteemed and regarded, not only by themselves, but by the world at large." They fear that the "Puritans" had misrepresented them to him, as they had "freely relinquished all those ceremonies which their brethren regarded as offensive." "For we gave up," they say, "Private Baptisms, Confirmation of Children, Saints' Days, Kneeling at the Holy Communion, the Linen Surplice of the Ministers, and other things of the like character, not as being impure and papistical . . . but because they were in their own nature indifferent . . . and we chose rather to lay them aside than to alienate the affections of the brethren." 1

To this letter, signed by Cox, Sandys, Grindal, Horn, and Sampson, men destined to be the leaders of the Elizabethan Church, Calvin replied that as he had advised their opponents to yield somewhat, he had been offended that they had refused to grant anything, but was very glad that were now "more mild and tractable." He censures them, however, for wishing to retain "dregs of superstition" and also for their "unbrotherly"

treatment of Knox.2

The Frankfort party in reply regret that their letter had not altogether removed Calvin's scruples. "Our ceremonies," they declare, "are very few, and all of them of no little use towards the advancement of godliness. But it is no wonder that our ceremonies appear redundant, and even burdensome, to those persons who exclaim against the public reading of the Word of God as an irksome and unprofitable form." ⁸

Unfortunately further strife broke out amongst the congregation that remained at Frankfort, over the question of Church discipline. Horne and Chambers, who had been elected as ministers, refused to render an account of the alms for the relief of the poorer members, of which they possessed the sole control; and unedifying disputes continued till the congregation returned to

England on the death of Mary.

But, in spite of these dissensions, the English exiles continued to maintain the closest fellowship and affection for their brethren of the foreign Reformed Churches, by whom they were being so

¹ Original Letters, pp. 753-5. ² Troubles at Frankfort, p. 79. Original Letters, pp. 755-64.

hospitably treated, and with whom, after their return home, they

kept up a close correspondence.

Thus, on the accession of Elizabeth, when the English Church at Geneva, composed mainly of "Puritan" Reformers, sent a general invitation to the other exiles to confer with them how they "might together reach and practise the true knowledge of God's Word, which we have learned in this our banishment, and by God's merciful Providence seen in the best Reformed Churches," the Frankfort congregation replied that "they purposed to submit themselves to such orders as shall be established by authority, being not of themselves wicked." "For," they added, "whereas all the Reformed Churches differ among themselves in divers ceremonies, and yet agree in the unity of doctrine, we see no inconvenience if we use some ceremonies diverse from them, so that we agree in the chief points of our religion."

Bishop Jewel, who earnestly strove to persuade Peter Martyr to return to his post of divinity lecturer at Oxford, wrote telling him that now the "full light of the Gospel had shone forth" in England, "for as to matters of doctrine we have pared everything away to the very quick, and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth." Peter Martyr, in reply, congratulated Jewel on the production of his famous *Apology*, which he said had also "appeared to Bullinger, Gualter, and Wolfius so wise, admirable, and eloquent that they think nothing in these days hath been set forth more perfectly." 4

Bishop Horn also, in writing to Bullinger, says, "We have throughout England the same ecclesiastical doctrine as yourselves," and informs him that a "certain Englishman" is preparing a treatise against the Ubiquitarian (Lutheran) theory of the Sacrament, "that it may be manifest to everyone that the people of England entertain on these points the same opinions as you do at Zurich." ⁵ Beza informed Grindal that he knew no

¹ Troubles at Frankfort, p, 224.
2 Zurich Letters, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 225-6. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

⁵ Ibid., p. 135. In 1586, amongst the "articles agreed on by the bishops" of Canterbury Convocation "for the increase of learning in inferior ministers," was an order that every beneficed clergyman under the degree of Master of Arts, and not licensed as a public preacher, should provide himself with a copy of Bullinger's Decades (or sermons on the chief points of the Christian religion), and read over one sermon each week, noting the chief matters in a paper book, which was to be shown to some preacher each quarter.—Bullinger's Decades, vol. v. p. xxix.

orthodox Frenchman who would not as heartily subscribe the

English Confession of Faith as their own.1

It is also interesting to notice that the same spirit of unity and fellowship was displayed by the succeeding generations of English churchmen. In 1581 a "Harmony" of the Confessions of Faith of all the Reformed Churches, including the Church of England, was compiled by the Churches of Zurich and Geneva, and Bishop Andrewes, in writing against Bellarmine, appeals to this to prove "that we hold one faith, as the Harmony of our Confession shows." 2 Rogers, Archbishop Bancroft's chaplain, published his learned treatise 3 on the Articles in 1607 with the express object of proving them "to be agreeable both to the written Word of God and to the extant Confessions of all neighbour Churches, christianly reformed"; while about the same time Peter du Moulin, in defending the French Confession, says, "Our adversaries, under pretence that the Church of England hath another form of discipline than ours is, charge us that our religion is diverse, but experience confuteth this accusation, for we assemble with the English in their churches, we participate together in the holy supper of our Lord; the doctrine of their Confession is wholly agreeable to ours." 4 Representatives of the English Church assisted the foreign Reformed divines in condemning the Arminian "heresies" at the Synod of Dort in 1618, and until the Restoration ministers of the foreign Reformed Churches were admitted to English benefices, although they had never received episcopal ordination.5

With regard to this latter defect Bishop Andrewes asserted "that though episcopal government be of divine institution yet it is not so absolutely necessary, as that there can be no Church, nor sacraments, nor salvation without it. He is blind that sees

¹ Bingham's Works, vol. viii. p. 32 (1829).

Andrewes' Works, Responsio ad Bellarminum, p. 36.
 Entitled The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England.
 Quoted in Bingham's Works, vol. viii. p. 32.

⁵ Cosin's Works, vol. iv. pp. 403 and 449. An Act of 13 Eliz. cap. xii. required clergy ordained by any "other form of institution, consecration, or ordering" than that used in England simply to subscribe their assent to the Articles of Religion before exercising their ministry.—Prothero, Statutes and Const. Docts., p. 64 (1894). In 1582 Archbishop Grindal, in licensing a Scotch Presbyterian divine "to celebrate the divine offices and minister the Sacraments throughout the whole province of Canterbury," declared him to have been ordained "according to the laudable form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland."—Strype Life of Grindal, p. 402 (1821).

not many Churches flourishing without it;" while Bishop Hall declared, "Blessed be God, there is no difference in any essential matter between the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation. We accord in every point of Christian doctrine without the least variation. The only difference is in the form of outward administration, wherein also we are so far agreed as that we all profess this form not to be essential to the being of a Church, though much importing the well or better being of it." 2

As late as 1719 Archbishop Wake wrote to Mr. Le Clerc that "he willingly embraced the Reformed Churches, though he could have wished that they had retained the episcopal form of government." But he was "far from being so iron-hearted as to believe that on account of such a defect any of them ought to be cut off from our Communion, or with certain mad writers among us to declare that they have no true and valid Sacraments, and thus are scarcely Christians." ³

¹ Responsio ad 2 Epistl. Molinaei.

Works, vol. v. p. 56 (1811).

³ Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History (Maclaine), vol. v. 169, Letter xix. (1768).

CHAPTER XIII

THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

In her personal character Elizabeth was a marked contrast to her sister. Mary was a morbid, religious fanatic, Elizabeth was lively and imbued with the tolerant spirit of the Renaissance. Mary pined for the affection of her husband and the gift of a child, while Elizabeth's ambition was "to die a virgin" and to be married to her people. Both, indeed, shared the proud and imperious spirit of the Tudors, but it has been well said that Elizabeth's life "was the life of a man, not of a woman . . ."

It is important, in estimating the tortuous pathway she invariably pursued, to bear in mind the extremely critical position with which she was confronted, which necessarily influenced her ecclesiastical as well as her political policy. The Romanists regarded her as illegitimate, and desired to substitute for her Mary, Queen of Scots, whose claim to the English Crown was actively supported by France. The Papal Church, which had been revivified by the reforms of the Council of Trent and the zeal of the newly-formed "Society of Jesus," possessed its most fanatical champion in Philip of Spain, whose power and resources seemed boundless, and who was not likely to lose any opportunity of regaining for his Faith a kingdom which he had lost through the death of Mary and the refusal of Elizabeth to accept his offer of marriage. Besides the danger from abroad, Elizabeth was faced at home with a depleted treasury, a debased coinage, a languishing commerce, and a serious religious problem which might at any time involve the country in civil war.

Elizabeth is reported to have made answer to Mary's deathbed request that she would make no change in religion, "I promise thus much, that I will not change it, provided only it can be proved by the Word of God, which shall be the only

foundation and rule of my religion."2

Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xvii. p. 231.
 Zurich Letters, p. 4.

By birth, education, and circumstances Elizabeth was naturally averse from the Romish religion, and thus the Reformers hailed her accession with joy as a signal that their persecution

and sufferings were at an end.

The extremely complicated nature of her political necessities compelled her, however, to proceed cautiously in regard to religious changes, as she fully realised the need of preserving a united front against the dangers from abroad. Thus no immediate changes were made. The old councillors were retained, although eight more of decided Protestant leanings were added, the most important of whom was the Queen's secretary, Sir William Cecil, described by a contemporary as "most sound in religion and most discreet in the government of the state." The bishops were received graciously, with the exception of Bonner, whom Elizabeth regarded with horror, but even he was left in undisturbed possession of his see. Elizabeth continued to attend mass, although she ordered Bishop Oglethorpe, the only bishop whom she could persuade to perform the coronation ceremony, not to elevate the Host.

It was not altogether unnatural that the more zealous Protestants, freed at length from a galling persecution, should commence to anticipate events by destroying images and superstitious relics. and restoring the Reformed worship. Consequently Elizabeth issued proclamations forbidding for the present all innovations, and all preaching, except under special royal licence; at the same time permitting the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Gospels to be read in English.² A "Device for the Alteration of Religion" 3 had been anonymously 4 drawn up and presented to Sir W. Cecil, suggesting that a committee of prominent divines 5 should be formed to consult concerning a common service book, to be presented for the approval of the Queen and Parliament. There appears to be no conclusive proof that such a committee actually met, although it has been conjectured from a paper of explanations, vindicating the "new service," sent by Guest 6 to Cecil, that the former had been invited to assist the

¹ Zurich Letters, vol. ii. p. 66.
² Gee and Hardy, p. 416.
³ See Burnet, vol. iv. p. 390, and Strype, Annals, vol. i. Appendix No. iv.

^{(1725).}Probably by Sir T. Smith.

⁵ The names suggested were Parker, Pilkington, Cox, Grindal, May, Bill, Whitehead, and Sir T. Smith.

⁶ Afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

other members in the task of revising the service books, and "in

comparing both King Edward's communion books." 1

It also seems probable from the defence offered by Guest that a suggestion had been made 2 of restoring King Edward's First Prayer Book, as he informed Cecil that ceremonies once taken away as abused ought not to be restored, that images, including the crucifix, were condemned by Scripture, that processions were superfluous, that as a surplice was sufficient "in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, it is enough also for celebrating the Communion; for if we should use another garment herein, it should seem to teach us, that higher and better things be given by it than be given by the other service; which we must not believe": that non-communicating attendance was contrary to ancient custom, that prayer for the dead was unprimitive, and that as the old custom of the Church was to communicate standing, it is left optional for people to receive either standing or kneeling.³ The work of revision, however, even if undertaken by a committee, could not have been very extensive, as the bill presented to Parliament in the following April (1559) re-established King Edward's Second Prayer Book with only three small alterations.

It had not been possible to submit the matter to Convocation,⁴ as the members were still so resolutely determined to maintain Mary's position that the Lower House boldly passed a series of articles, unanimously reaffirming their belief in transubstantiation, the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, the supreme authority of the Pope, and the exclusive right of the hierarchy to determine matters of faith and discipline.⁵ This determined attitude led to a formal disputation being held in Westminster Abbey, in which nine champions of the Romanist, and nine of the Protestant party hotly debated the three burning questions as to the propriety of conducting the services in an unknown tongue, the authority of "particular" churches to ordain or change rites and ceremonies, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass.⁶ The

¹ Strype, Annals, vol. i. p. 82.

³ Strype, Annals, vol. i. Appendix xiv. pp. 38-41, and Cardwell, History of Conferences, p. 51 (1840).

As Mary had abolished the Second Prayer Book by Act of Parliament alone, so Elizabeth restored it by the same means.

⁵ Fuller, Church History, book ix. Sect. i. p. 10.

⁶ Zurich Letters, pp. 10-16.

² Collier conjectures (but without any evidence) either by Cecil or by the Queen.—*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. vi. p. 249.

discussion only tended to increase the ill-feeling between the rival parties, and it was broken off in anger owing to the Romanists refusing to adhere to the preliminary arrangement, in consequence of which two of their bishops were imprisoned for contumacy.

The Parliament which met on January 25, 1559, was opened with a moderate and conciliatory speech from Lord Keeper Bacon. After Elizabeth's title to the throne had been confirmed, the Commons proceeded to deal with the "Supremacy Bill." By this Act, which was finally passed on April 29, after much opposition in the Lords, the great bulwark of Elizabeth's ecclesiastical settlement was established. Mary's restoration of Papal power and supremacy was repealed, and, in addition, ten of the laws passed by Henry VIII against the Roman See were revived, and the Papal power was once again abolished in the most definite and comprehensive terms. The Crown was declared to be the fountain of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and was given full powers to delegate this authority to a specially appointed body of commissioners, who were empowered "to visit, reform, and correct all heresies, errors, and schisms which by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction can or may lawfully be reformed or amended." 2 An oath was appointed to be taken by holders of office in Church and State accepting the Oueen as the Supreme Governor of the realm in all spiritual as well as temporal causes, and renouncing all jurisdiction or authority of foreign princes or prelates.

The persecuting statutes against heresy were repealed, and the commissioners authorised under the Act to exercise spiritual jurisdiction were only to adjudge as heresy such matters as had been decided "by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils, or such as should be judged to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament with the assent of

the clergy in Convocation."3

Thus Elizabeth had practically returned to the position taken up by Henry VIII, for although she had substituted the title "Supreme Governor" for "Supreme Head," carefully explaining that she had no intention of challenging "authority and power of ministry of divine offices in the Church," yet she not only retained the right, which Henry had claimed, to be the supreme appeal in ecclesiastical causes, but by imposing Injunctions on the clergy without the consent of Convocation, and by

¹ All the spiritual peers voted against it.

² Prothero, ut supra, p. 6.

³ Prothero, ut supra, p. 12.

⁴ Gee and Hardy, p. 439.

the extensive powers exercised through her ecclesiastical commissioners, she, like Henry, advanced this claim beyond mere control and supervision to a virtual exercise of the spiritual

disciplinary powers of the Church.

Concurrently with the settlement of the legal and political aspect of Elizabeth's reformation by the Act of Supremacy, Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity, establishing its doctrinal basis. The Act nullified Mary's statute repealing King Edward's Act of Uniformity of 1552, and restored and enforced on the whole realm the exclusive use of his Second Prayer Book, "with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise." 1

The second of these alterations was probably designed as a possible means of conciliating opponents, the petition in the Litany "to be delivered from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," now removed, being naturally most obnoxious to the Romanists. There is, however, little or no evidence to support the contention that the combination of the sentence in the Communion services of the two Prayer Books of Edward VI would be interpreted as in the nature of a compromise between the Lutheran and the Reformed teaching on the Sacrament.² It is also most unlikely that the omission of the "black rubric" (possibly because it formed no part of the statutory Prayer Book of 1552, now re-enacted) possessed any doctrinal significance, although this may have been prompted by Guest's proposal to make the custom of standing or kneeling for the Communion optional.³

The ease with which the Act of Uniformity was carried in the Commons would seem to prove that the reign of terror under Mary had greatly strengthened the Protestant feeling of the laity, but the case was far different in the Lords, where the Bill was only passed by three votes, all the spiritual peers present voting against it. Bishop Scott, who boldly denied the competency of

¹ Gee and Hardy, p. 459.

² Cf. Upton, ut supra, chap. v. In the Presbyterian "Directory" of 1645, the words of delivery are: "This is the body of Christ, which is broken for you."

³ This proposal was apparently rejected by Parliament.—Strype, *Annals*, vol. i. p. 83, and Cardwell, *ut supra*, pp. 110-2.

Parliament to deal with the question, very pertinently stated that the real point at issue was between "the mass book," which this Bill declared "erroneous and wicked," and the new Common Prayer, which it established "as godly and consonant to Scripture." After declaiming against the new book because it contained, as the compilers themselves "willingly acknowledged," no real consecration and no oblation of Christ, he proceeded to advance the remarkable proposition, "For if there is no external sacrifice in the New Testament, then there is no priesthood, whose office is, saith St. Paul, to offer up gifts and sacrifices for sin. Now, if there is no priesthood, then there is no religion under the New Testament, and if we have no religion, then we are without God in this world."

The new Prayer Book was enjoined to be used by all clergy on and after St John the Baptist's Day 1559, under penalty for the third offence of life imprisonment, and all persons neglecting to attend Divine Service on Sundays or holy days were liable to a fine of one shilling, to be applied to the use of the poor of the parish. A clause was inserted at the end of the Act which gives the origin of the famous "Ornaments Rubric," the interpretation of which has occasioned, since the rise of the "Oxford Movement," such a heated controversy. "Such ornaments of the Church and of the minister thereof," it was enacted in the thirteenth clause, "shall be retained and be in use, as was in the Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI, until other order shall be taken therein by the authority of the Queen's majesty, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorised, for causes ecclesiastical or of the metropolitan of this realm."2

Apart from the much-debated point as to when this "other order" was taken, the question is further complicated by the fact that after Parliament had passed the Bill, distinctly restoring the Prayer Book of 1552 with only three specified alterations, the rubric (of 1552) stating that the minister during Divine Service should wear no vestments but the rochet or surplice was deliberately altered, ordering that "the minister at the Communion and all other times of his ministration shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI, according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this Book." This

¹ Strype, Annals, vol. i. Appendix x. pp. 27-33, and Collier, vol. vi. p. 243.

² Prothero, p. 20.

"Note" or rubric, thus illegally inserted, either by the Queen or Council, remained in the Prayer Book till the revision in 1662,

when it was changed to its present form.2

It has been very forcibly urged that the proviso contained in this thirteenth clause was merely intended as a direction to prevent the embezzlement of the Church goods, plate, and vestments, rendered illegal by the adoption of the Prayer Book of 1552, and as authority for their "retention" until "other order" should be given for their disposal. This "other order," it is contended, was taken by the Royal Visitors in 1559, acting "by the authority of the Queen's Majesty," and as "Commissioners appointed and authorised under the Great Seal for Ecclesiastical Causes "3 (see p. 119), who ordered the destruction, utilisation for the benefit of the Church, or confiscation of all the old "ornaments" rendered illegal by the restoration of the Prayer Book and "ornaments rubric" of 1552. Thus the fortyseventh of the Royal Injunctions, which the Commissioners were empowered to administer, requires inventories to be delivered to the Royal Visitors of "all vestments, copes, and other ornaments, plate, books, etc.," 4 apparently with a view to their disposal for the profit or "use" of the Crown. For Sandys, one of the Commissioners, writing at the time to Parker in reference to this proviso in the Act to retain the ornaments, states, that "Our gloss (or interpretation) upon this text is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen."5

The thirtieth Injunction at the same time, in conformity with the revived rubric of 1552, enjoined all the clergy to "use and wear," "both in the church and without," "such seemly habits, garments and square caps" as were customary in the latter year of King Edward's reign, this being the year in which the Second Praver Book, ordering the exclusive use of the surplice, was in

force.

According to this theory, the "Advertisements" of 1566, ordering the general use of the surplice for all services, with the addition of the cope in cathedral and collegiate churches during

¹ Cf. Privy Council decision in Ridsdale case.

3 Cf. Burnet, vol. vi. pp. 417-20, Records, No. 7, and Collier, vol. vi. p. 262.

4 Gee and Hardy, p. 435.

⁵ Parker, Correspondence, p. 65, and cf. Perry, Church History, vol. ii. p. 266.
⁶ Gee and Hardy, p. 432.

² This rubric was, however, omitted in the Latin Prayer Book published n 1560.

the Communion, were additional ritual regulations carried out under the authority of the latter part of Clause xiii., which directed that if any contempt or irreverence happened in the appointed ceremonies or rites, "the Queen's Majesty may by the like advice of the said Commissioners or Metropolitan, ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory and the edifying of His Church." In support of this view, it must be admitted that both the Queen and Archbishop Parker distinctly regarded the Injunctions as a taking of "further order," in accordance with the thirteenth clause of the Act of Uniformity.

It is also exceedingly difficult to explain on any other hypothesis why "not once anywhere," from 1559 to 1566, "was the ritual of the First Prayer Book in respect of the use of ornaments followed by any one bishop, priest, or deacon." There are, on the contrary, frequent references to the attempted enforcement by the bishops of the use of the surplice as the only appointed vestment according to the requirements of the Act of

Uniformity and the Queen's Injunctions." 5

On the other hand, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the supreme court of appeal in ecclesiastical causes, has decided ⁶ that "other order," according to Clause xiii. was taken in 1566, when Archbishop Parker issued in the Queen's name, and by virtue of a mandatory letter received from her, the

"Advertisements" already referred to.7

Whichever view be correct, there is abundant evidence proving that there is no trace after 1559 of the use of any other vestments except the surplice, and occasionally the cope, and it is most improbable that Elizabeth, who certainly had no dislike to ornate ceremonial, and was so strenuous in the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline that Bishop Jewel, in referring to the bitter opposition of the Puritans to the "linen surplice," declared that "she was unable to endure the least alteration

3 Cf. Parker, Correspondence, p. 375.

1 Tomlinson, Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies, p. 197, and of. Upton,

ut supra, chap. x.

6 Purchas and Ridsdale cases.

⁵ Thus Archbishop Parker inquires in 1563, "whether your priests, curates, or ministers, do use in the time of the celebration of Divine Service to wear a surplice prescribed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions and the Book of Common Prayer."—Quoted in Tomlinson, ut supra, p. 48.

⁷ Cf. Parker's Correspondence, pp. 223-6 and 273-4.

in matters of religion," 1 would have permitted a law concerning vestments to be evaded by the use of a "minimum" ritual which, it has recently been asserted, was all that the "Advertise-

ments" enjoined.2

The requirements of the "Advertisements" were confirmed by the canons of 1604, and strictly enforced till the outbreak of the Civil War. At the revision of the Prayer Book in 1662, the "Ornaments Rubric" was altered to conform to the wording of the Act of 1559 (which was then made part of the statutory Prayer Book), with the intention of re-enforcing the use of the surplice "at all times" of Divine Service, in opposition to the scruples of the Puritans, and no attempt was made before the middle of the last century to revive the use of the discarded vestments prescribed by the Prayer Book of 1549. It is evident, therefore, that these vestments must have been regarded as distinctly illegal, for, as a recent writer well observes, it cannot be seriously imagined that "the Sovereign, the Episcopate, and the clergy have for three hundred years assisted in a flagrant breach of the law." 5

The Marian bishops, although they had vigorously opposed the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, had so far been unmolested, but they were now required to take the oath, acknowledging the Queen's supremacy. Summoning them to her presence, Elizabeth urged them to conform, and forsake the "superstitious worship" of the Romish Church. Many of them had successfully retained their positions during the changes imposed by Henry VIII, Edward and Mary, but they now resolved to be faithful to their convictions, and all except Kitchen of Landaff refused the oath, Archbishop Heath even boldly reproving the Queen for not imitating her sister's zeal for the Apostolic See. Elizabeth replied, "that her crown being wholly independent, she would own no sovereign excepting Christ Jesus, the King of Kings . . . and that she should look on all her

¹ Zurich Letters, i. 149.

⁸ Cf. Tomlinson, ut supra, pp. 140 and 154-6.

⁵ Cornish, English Church in Nineteenth Century, vol. ii. p. 153.

² The surplice, which was used, according to this theory, as a "minimum" or the Communion and at all ministrations in Elizabeth's reign, was not, however, even permitted for the Communion by the rubric of 1549 ("the second year of the reign of King Edward VI")!

⁴ After the Restoration, the bishops in their Visitation Articles frequently inquire if the law requiring the use of the surplice "at all ministrations" has been obeyed, but make no mention of any other vestment.

subjects as enemies to God and the crown who should henceforth abet the Pope's pretensions." 1 Altogether, fourteen bishops were deprived of their sees, two were sent to the Tower; the rest, with the exception of Bonner, who was imprisoned to protect him from popular revenge, lived quietly in the houses of their friends, or in the custody of the Reformed bishops, a marked contrast to the persecuting policy pursued by Mary.2 Royal commissioners were appointed to make a general visitation of the kingdom, with power to deprive all clergy who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy or accept the new Prayer Book, and although these visitors seem to have proceeded leniently, many of the clergy must have sacrificed their conscientious scruples to their material welfare, as apparently scarcely two hundred were ejected from

their preferments.3

Probably Elizabeth could have found no better man to undertake the supreme responsibility of carrying out the new religious settlement than Matthew Parker, who succeeded Cardinal Pole in the See of Canterbury. He had been Chaplain both to Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, and had managed, in spite of his reforming views, to live quietly in retirement under Oueen Mary, man of ripe scholarship, undoubted piety, and moderate opinions, with little or no sympathy with the over-sensitive scruples of the Puritans, he was well qualified to enforce a strict conformity to the simple ritual requirements of the new Prayer Book. Most reluctantly yielding to the royal pressure, he was consecrated at Lambeth on December 17, 1559, by Bishops Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, according to the Ordinal of the restored Prayer Book of Edward VI. The vacant sees were filled by undoubted Reformers, most of whom had been in exile on the Continent. Thus, Grindal became Bishop of London, Cox was appointed to Ely, Sandys to Worcester, Horn to Winchester, Tewel to Salisbury, Barlow to Chichester, Scory to Hereford, and Guest to Rochester.

The task of restoring order and uniformity which confronted the new episcopate was no easy one. Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr at the conclusion of his labours on the royal visitation, telling him that "it was hardly credible what a wilderness of superstition had sprung up in the darkness of the Marian times." "We found," he says, "in all places, votive relics of

¹ Collier, vol. vi. p. 253.

Strype, Annals, vol. i. p. 141-5.
 Fuller, Church History, bk. ix. sect. i. p. 22, and Burnet, vol. iii. p. 510.

saints, nails with which the infatuated people dreamed that Christ had been pierced, and I know not what small fragments of the sacred cross... the cathedral churches were nothing else but dens of thieves or worse, if anything more foul can be mentioned." "Our universities," he told Bullinger, "are so depressed and ruined, that at Oxford there are scarcely two individuals who think with us." 2

The bishops also experienced unexpected difficulty owing to the Oueen's desire to retain altars and images in the churches, although the Injunctions distinctly ordered the substitution of Communion tables for altars, and directed that images were not to be extolled. Parker and his colleagues presented long and learned petitions, pointing out to the Queen that the use of images or altars was contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures and the primitive Church, and also to the judgment of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and the leading foreign Reformers, "the greatest learned men of the world." They were apparently prepared to resign their positions rather than countenance the use of images. "Matters are come to that pass," wrote Jewel to Martyr, "that either the crosses of silver and tin, which we have everywhere broken in pieces, must be restored or our bishoprics relinquished." 4 Elizabeth was at length prevailed upon to give way, and Bishop Sandys informed Martyr "that all images of every kind were, at our last visitation, not only taken down, but also burnt, and that too by public authority." 5 The Queen, however, greatly to the chagrin of the bishops, insisted for a time on retaining the crucifix and candles in her own private chapel.

Another great difficulty confronting the bishops was the ignorance of the clergy and the great scarcity of those qualified to preach. Lever informed Bullinger in 1560 that "many of our parishes have no clergymen, and some dioceses are without a bishop; there is hardly one in a hundred who is able and willing to preach the Word of God." ⁶ Jewel echoes the same complaint to Martyr. "We are only wanting in preachers, and of these there is a great and alarming scarcity." ⁷ A contemporary, deploring the decline of learning at the universities, states that, owing to the miserable stipends of the clergy, parents found it

¹ Zurich Letters, vol. i. p. 44.
² Ibid., p. 33.
³ Strype, Annals, vol. i. pp. 160-3, and Parker, Correspondence, pp.

⁶ Zurich Letters, vol. i. p. 68. ⁵ Ibid., p. 74. ⁶ Ibid., pp. 85 and 92. ⁷ Ibid.

"more profitable to make their sons lawyers or physicians, or anything than ministers; for that, when they had bestowed all they could get on one child in the university, he was not able to

live himself or help any friend he had."1

Under these circumstances, the bishops were constrained to ordain ignorant "artificers" who, "partly by their light behaviour and trade of life, were very offensive to the people," and very soon complaints were heard of the great neglect and irreverent keeping of the churches. Bullinger's Decades were appointed to be used as sermons by the inferior clergy, while in many places laymen were employed to read the services and a homily. Foxe's Book of Martyrs was also ordered to be set up in the churches for general reading, and must soon have become a fruitful means of preserving the bitter memories of the Marian persecutions.

Elizabeth also strongly objected to the marriage of the clergy, and Cecil informed Parker that he had great difficulty to prevent her openly forbidding it.⁵ She issued an order, which greatly offended the archbishop, forbidding the "head or member of any college or cathedral church to have his wife or other woman to abide within the precincts," and went out of her way to insult

Mrs. Parker when visiting the Archbishop at Lambeth.

The Forty-two Articles of 1552 had not yet been revived, and the bishops had only required the clergy to make twice every year a public profession of their acceptance of "Eleven Articles" of Religion, which they had compiled under the supervision of Archbishop Parker. The Convocation which met in January 1563, however, immediately proceeded to the consideration of the Forty-two Articles. They were carefully revised, both by the bishops and the Lower House of Convocation, and several alterations or additions were made, borrowed mainly from the Lutheran Confession of Wurtemberg. In the end the number was reduced to thirty-nine; the four last of the Edwardine Articles, which had related to the theories of the Anabaptists, being omitted, but an Article was added concerning the wicked

³ Collier, vol. vi. p. 334.

¹ Strype, Annals, vol. i. p. 361. ² Parker, Correspondence, p. 120.

⁴ The Convocation of 1571 ordered all bishops and church dignitaries to keep a copy in some public room for the instruction of their domestics and others who were occasionally entertained by them.—Collier, vol. vi. p. 500.

⁵ Parker, Correspondence, p. 48. ⁶ Cf. Hardwicke, Articles, pp. 118-9, and Burnet, vol. iv. p. 439, Records, No. 11.

who unworthily partake of the Sacrament of Christ's body, while the Article which had expressly denied the "real and bodily presence of Christ's flesh and blood" in the Sacrament was altered to the simple statement that "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, and the mean whereby it is received and eaten is faith." 1 As thus amended, the Articles were subscribed by the members of both Houses, but after receiving the royal ratification it was discovered that the Article (xxix.) concerning the "wicked who eat not the body of Christ" had been omitted, and a clause had been added to Article xx., declaring that the "Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." At the final revision in 1571, however, Article xxix. was again inserted, and the additional clause to Article xx. retained, and Parliament required all the clergy to subscribe those Articles relating to the Sacraments and "the confession of the true Christian faith." In 1583, Archbishop Whitgift, in his famous "Three Articles," which excited such bitter opposition amongst the Puritan ministers, required the clergy, besides subscribing to the Royal Supremacy, the Prayer Book and Ordinal, to declare their belief that "all the Articles were agreeable to the Word of God."2

A determined attempt was also made in Convocation to alter the discipline enjoined by the Prayer Book. Bishop Sandys, who was supported by Grindal, unsuccessfully attempted to persuade the Upper House to declare against baptism by women and the use of the sign of the cross in the baptismal ceremony. In the Lower House a petition was drawn up, praying that copes and surplices might be taken away, kneeling at Communion be optional "because divers communicants superstitiously both kneel and knock," that organs be prohibited and the sign of the cross in baptism omitted. Although these proposals were rejected, six other Articles of a very similar. but slightly modified, character, were warmly debated, and at length only defeated by one vote by means of the proxies of absent members.3 These extravagant demands, which were thus narrowly rejected, became the battle-cry of the Puritans for the next century.

Convocation also approved a Catechism for use "in the

¹ Article xxviii.

² Hardwicke, Articles, pp. 223 and 229, and Fuller, book ix. sect. iv. p. 10. ³ Strype, Annals, vol. i. pp. 335-8.

universities and grammar schools of the realm," which had been compiled in Latin and afterwards translated into English and Greek by Dean Nowell, the Prolocutor of the Lower House. It was drawn largely from the catechisms of Calvin and Bishop Ponet, and Bishop Overall is supposed to have used it as a basis for his appendix on the Sacraments which was added to the Prayer Book Catechism in 1604.1 It was, however, laid aside for some years until, at the special request of Archbishop Parker.² it was first printed in 1570, and its exclusive use was ordered by the canons of the following year.

The bishops were also engaged on a revision of the Great Bible, which was in danger of being superseded by the "Geneva Bible" published in 1560, a careful and scholarly translation, containing. however, marginal notes advocating the extreme opinions of the Puritans. The revision was completed in 1568, and the new Bible, authorised by Convocation in 1571, was commonly known

as the "Bishops' Bible." 3

Elizabeth's reformation had now been successfully accomplished, both in its political and doctrinal aspects, but the decrees which were being fulminated at the Council of Trent received, probably, their most powerful contradiction by the publication, in 1562, of Bishop Jewel's Apology of the Church of England, a most scholarly production, which ably defended the Anglican religious settlement. This celebrated work, undertaken at the urgent request of Archbishop Parker,4 had been occasioned by the controversy which arose out of the famous challenge made in a sermon preached by Jewel at Paul's Cross in 1560. Jewel had boldly invited his Romanist antagonists to join issue with him on twenty-seven different points of doctrine and practice. Against the charge of innovation and novelty he replied, "That if any learned men of all our adversaries are able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any Catholic doctor or Father, or out of any old general council, or out of the Holy Scriptures, or any one example of the primitive Church, whereby it may be plainly and clearly proved that for the space of six hundred years after Christ . . . that the Bishop of Rome was then called universal bishop . . . or that the people were taught to believe that Christ's

¹ Cf. Proctor, ut supra, p. 431, note 3.

² Nowell's Catechism, p. 6, and Strype, Annals, vol. i. p. 353.

³ Cf. Printed English Bible, p. 117, sq.
⁴ The Apology received the approval of the Queen and Convocation, and a copy of it was ordered to be placed in churches and the houses of dignitaries.

body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally or naturally in the Sacrament, or that His body is, or may be, in a thousand places or more at one time, or that the priest did then hold up the Sacrament over his head, or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour . . . or that whosoever had affirmed that the Sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token or a remembrance of Christ's body had been judged for a heretic . . . or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ to the Father, or to communicate or receive the Sacrament for another, as they do, or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by means of the mass . . . he was ready to give over and subscribe unto them."

Similarly, his great aim in the Apology was to refute the charge of innovation and heresy which the Romanists had brought against the doctrine and position of the Reformed Church of England. He pointed out that all the early Fathers appealed only to the Scriptures as a test of orthodoxy, and he therefore challenged his opponents, if they wished to be called Catholics, to "convince and master them" by the Scriptures.2 "If we be heretics," he pertinently asks, "which refer all our controversies unto the Holy Scriptures, and in comparison of them set little by other things . . . how is it meet to call them which fear the judgment of the Holy Scriptures, and do prefer before them their own dreams and full cold inventions, and to maintain their own traditions have defaced and corrupted the ordinances of Christ and of the Apostles?"3 "We," he continues, "have restored the Lord's Supper according to the institution of Christ, and have made it to be a communion in very deed. They have made it a Private Mass. So that we give unto the people the Lord's Supper, they a vain pageant to gaze upon."

Harding, a renegade Protestant, who attempted the task of answering the *Apology*, used the most bitter and virulent language, and relied on the Forged Decretals and other spurious writings. He asserted that the Bishop of Rome was always infallible in his determinations, as he was under the constant direction of the Holy Spirit, and that whoever separated from his communion was *ipso facto* a heretic and deprived of the hope of salvation.

The Apology was translated from the Latin original into English

¹ Jewel's Works, vol. i. pp. 20-21.

² "Surely," he says, "we have ever judged the primitive Church of Christ's time, of the apostles and of the Holy Fathers to be the Catholic Church."

—Apology, p. 70.

³ Ibid., pp. 16 and 111-2.

by Lady Bacon, the mother of the celebrated Lord Chancellor, and soon had a wide circulation on the Continent, being translated into many different languages. It was examined by the Council of Trent, and two bishops were charged with the task of replying to it, a work which, however, was never accomplished. In England it was held in the highest esteem by Churchmen of all shades of opinion.¹

¹ Bishop Andrewes, preaching before the Count Palatine, said, "Look at the *Apology* of our Church—truly a Jewel. Whoso will may find our doctrine there."—Meyrick, *Scriptural and Catholic Truth*, p. 191, Longmans.

CHAPTER XIV

THE OPPOSITION OF ROMANISTS AND PURITANS

It was only natural that a settlement which had been arrived at by the deliberate adoption of a middle course between the extremes of Romish medievalism, on the one hand, and advanced Protestantism, on the other, should be met with determined opposition from both these quarters. It was also not to be expected that, in an age when the toleration of varying forms of religious belief was an idea that only existed in the imagination of a few philosophical visionaries, any deliberate want of conformity with the established religious system would be permitted with impunity. Elizabeth, however, made it her boast that "it was not her intention to press into the retirements of conscience, but that all who conformed to her laws should be looked on as good subjects and treated accordingly," 1 and in regard to the adherents of the "old" religion during the first ten years of her reign this boast was not an idle one. The Romanist peers remained in the House of Lords, while the fines for not attending church were not rigorously exacted. The Romish bishops who refused the Oath of Supremacy had, as we have seen, only suffered a mild form of detention, and, although certainly the larger part of the clergy nominally adhered to the medieval faith, by far the greater number of them had preferred to dissemble their real convictions under the cloak of outward conformity to the new system. Although a second refusal to swear to the Queen's Supremacy legally involved the penalty of treason, Archbishop Parker particularly instructed the bishops not to tender the oath to the Marian clergy a second time without first obtaining his special permission.2 The Roman Catholic laity also, during this period, for the most part yielded a passive obedience by attendance at the Church services, while receiving the secret ministrations of their own priests, who often contrived to act as chaplains in private families.

¹ Collier, vol. vi. p. 481.

² Strype's *Life of Parker*, p. 125 (1711).

An active and heated controversy was, however, vigorously maintained by means of the press between the champions of the two opposing religious parties, and events soon proved that there was an important section of Romish adherents who were secretly plotting for the overthrow of Elizabeth and the restoration of Papal power. This violent attachment to the "old" faith was especially strong in the North of England, where, after 1568, the presence of Mary, the deposed and fugitive Queen of the Scots, and, as the heir presumptive to the English throne, the hope of the Papal party, only added fuel to the flame. Thus, in the following year occurred the serious but ill-fated rising of the Northern earls, with the vain attempt at the restoration of the Romish faith and the removal of "upstart" councillors, which was suppressed with such ruthless severity. The rebels, however, succeeded in capturing Durham, and mass was once more celebrated in the cathedral before their leaders took to flight at the approach of the royal army. The majority of the Romanists had, however, remained loyal, and it was not until Pius V declared open war in 1570 by the proclamation of his bull, excommunicating Elizabeth as a heretic and usurper, and absolving all her subjects from their allegiance, that an active and dangerous opposition was commenced, which soon led Elizabeth to embark on a policy of persecution and proscription.

With the Pope's bull ordering all true "Catholics" to renounce their allegiance to Elizabeth under pain of excommunication, and under no circumstances to countenance her schismatical Church, the English Romanists were placed in a most embarrassing position.\(^1\) They could no longer conscientiously attend their parish churches, and as the old Marian clergy, who secretly shared their views, gradually died out, there was little prospect of the ministrations of their own faith being continued. To meet this difficulty some of the more zealous of their party had succeeded, in 1568, in establishing a seminary at Douay\(^2\) for the training of English priests, willing to undertake the perilous task of returning as missionaries to their own countrymen. Dr. William Allen, a former Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, was appointed President, and in 1579 a similar college was founded at Rome, at the head of which was placed the famous Jesuit, Robert

² This college was removed to Rheims in 1578.

¹ Professor Pollard well observes that "so far as he could do so the Pope had rendered treason a necessary part of the religious duties of every English Romanist."—*History of England*, p. 377.

Parsons. Numbers of these self-denying and enthusiastic missionaries, inspired by the victories of the counter-Reformation in Europe, came to England every year, and the success that attended their labours was very great, especially after the arrival of the two Jesuits, Parsons and Campion. Under various names and disguises, these missionaries travelled from place to place, and at the peril of their lives exhorted the secret assemblies of Romanists to remain stedfast to their faith. This spiritual enthusiasm often served, however, as a cloak for dangerous political intrigue, and plots were constantly being hatched by the more fanatical Romanists to destroy Elizabeth and restore the true faith. In 1571, Ridolfi, an Italian, with the approval of the Pope and Philip of Spain, formed the design of liberating Mary Queen of Scots, marrying her to the Duke of Norfolk, and restoring Roman Catholicism under Mary's rule. The plot was, however, discovered by the vigilance of Cecil, and only resulted in bringing Norfolk, the most powerful of the old feudal barons, to the scaffold. Throgmorton's plot, in 1583, to assassinate Elizabeth, met with a similar fate, while, in 1586, a design to make Mary Oueen of England, by Spanish aid, which had been hatched at the English seminary at Rheims, was detected by Walsingham's spies. Babington, the chief conspirator, was executed, after evidence had been obtained of Mary's complicity, which led to her untimely death in the following year.

These constant plots and intrigues, combined with the ceaseless activity of the seminary priests, created an alarm almost amounting to a panic in the minds of English Protestants, which the moral of the terrible massacre of French Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, only intensified. Every Romish priest, if not every "Catholic" layman, was regarded as a possible traitor, and this feeling was not altogether dissipated when the repulse of the formidable Spanish Armada, in 1588, proved that the English Romanists, as a body, preferred loyalty to their Queen and country to a conflicting and over-exacting obedience

to the temporal claims of the Pope.

During this time of crisis the most severe laws were passed against Romanists. The fines for "recusancy" or non-attendance at church were greatly increased, and after 1571 anyone publishing bulls from Rome, or reconciling anyone, or being reconciled to the Romish Church, was liable to the penalties of high treason. In 1585 a law was passed banishing from the

¹ See Campion's letter in Fuller, Church History, vol. ii. pp. 521-4.

realm all Jesuits and seminary priests, under pain of being adjudged traitors.1 Parsons managed to escape, but Campion, who apparently was innocent of any political designs, had been arrested and executed in 1581, and Romanist historians assert that during the next twenty years as many as two hundred priests met with a similar fate,2 while numbers died from the effects of their harsh imprisonment. In 1503 a most severe Act forbade all Popish "recusants," "seditious persons terming themselves Catholics," to remove more than five miles from their homes, unless they obtained a special licence to travel on business, under penalty of forfeiting their lands and property for life, or being compelled to abjure the realm.3

Before passing judgment, however, on this severe persecution, we must carefully bear in mind the extreme danger which faced the country and the Protestant cause in the event of the sudden removal of the Queen. For until the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587, Elizabeth's nearest successor was a devoted Romanist, whose claims to the throne were actively supported by the power of Spain, and thus Englishmen were faced with the immediate possibility of the revival of the fires of Smithfield should one of the numerous plots to assassinate the Queen succeed. With Jesuit priests diligently instructing their flocks to regard Elizabeth as a heretic and a usurper, it was not very surprising if the Government sometimes made them suffer merely for their treasonable opinions, which might so easily ripen into traitorous actions, especially as these Romish emissaries usually

There is little reason to doubt that Elizabeth was by nature averse from religious persecution, and preferred, as Walsingham explained, "that consciences should be won by force of truth" rather than by "terror and rigour," disliking "to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts," 5 and although an impartial verdict must regard her extreme measures against the Romanists as unjustifiably severe, it must be admitted that she did not resort to them before she had received, if not a legitimate

refused to deny the Pope's power to depose the Queen and absolve

her subjects from their allegiance.4

¹ Gee and Hardy, pp. 485-92. All who knowingly harboured Jesuits were liable to suffer death as felons.

² Lingard, ut supra, vol. vi. pp. 257-8.
³ Gee and Hardy, pp. 498-508.

⁴ An unequivocal denial of this claim usually procured them a pardon. See also Fuller, vol. iii. p. 67.

⁵ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 533.

excuse, at least very grievous provocation. There is also little doubt that this policy of repression tended rather to increase than weaken their numbers and enthusiasm, and although by the close of the reign they had sunk to an insignificant minority, this was due rather to the zeal of the new Protestant preachers—who, succeeding the old Marian clergy, soon moulded their congregations in a strong anti-Popish direction—than to the effect of the persecution the Romanists had endured.

As we have already seen, a large section of the more extreme Reformers had, during their exile on the Continent, taken exception to several of the ceremonies enjoined by the Prayer Book of 1552, and thus the revival of that Book by the Elizabethan settlement was by no means a fulfilment of their hopes. They regarded as especially obnoxious the strict enforcement of the square cap and surplice, describing them as "Aaronic vestments" and "rags of Popery." It is important to bear in mind that these "Puritans," as they were termed, had at this time no quarrel with the doctrinal standard of the Reformed Church, and no objection to its episcopal form of government, and certainly no desire to separate from its communion. They claimed that, as these vestments and other minor ceremonies, such as the sign of the cross in baptism and kneeling at Communion, had been associated with the superstitious worship of medievalism, they were necessarily defiled, and as they possessed no specific divine sanction, they should not be imposed on the consciences of those who were offended by them. There is little doubt that practically all the early Elizabethan Churchmen strongly sympathised with this view, and, if they had possessed a free hand, would have granted indulgence to the Puritan scruples. The majority of the Elizabethan bishops regarded Church polity as a matter of expediency and policy, rather than one of essential principle or divine right, and would have acquiesced in a Presbyterian form of government had it been ordered by authority. Bishop Grindal informed Bullinger that "we who are now bishops . . . before we entered upon our ministry, contended long and earnestly for the removal of these things (the use of the habits) that have occasioned the present dispute; but as we were unable to prevail, either with the Queen or the Parliament, we judged it best, after a consultation, not to desert our churches for the sake of a few ceremonies not unlawful in themselves." "We have hitherto laboured," he and Bishop Horn wrote on another occasion, "with all earnestness, fidelity, and diligence to effect what our brethren require and what we ourselves wish."1 At the same time the bishops argued in opposition to the Puritan contention, "that the ministers of the Church of England might adopt without impiety the distinction of habits now prescribed by public authority . . . especially when it was proposed to them as a matter of indifference, and when the use was enjoined only for the sake of order and due obedience to the laws."2

There is little doubt that it was entirely due to the determined attitude of the Queen that the obligatory use of the surplice was retained, for her bishops were only induced to enforce the obnoxious "habits" on the Puritan clergy because of their belief in the Erastian principle of the subordination of the Church to the State. They interpreted the Queen's Supremacy to mean that the civil authority must be supreme over the ecclesiastical, at any rate, in matters of discipline and polity in which there was no divinely ordered system. In fact, it was impossible for them to justify the Elizabethan settlement of religion without approving this theory; for just as Mary had accomplished the restoration of the medieval worship and Papal authority by reliance on her royal supremacy and the civil power, so the precise character of the Reformation under Elizabeth had been accomplished mainly by the aid of the Oueen and Parliament.

The Puritan clergy, however, were prepared to abandon their ministry rather than consent to wear habits which they regarded as "impious, papistical, and idolatrous." A fierce controversy arose between them and the bishops, and both parties appealed to the leading Swiss Reformers for their advice on the crucial question. Martyr wrote disapproving of the habits, but counselling the Puritans to "bear with them" rather than forsake their ministry, and Beza's advice was similar. 3 Bullinger and Gualter, who soon realised that the Puritans were doing their utmost to misrepresent the conduct of the bishops, advised them, even though the use of the habits might be a "burden," to regard them as "matters of indifference," particularly as special vestments had been worn by the clergy in the early Church, and were not necessarily unlawful because used "in common with the Papists." "If it were not allowable," Bullinger well observes, "to have anything in common with them, it would be necessary to abstain from baptism and reciting the Creeds, and even to reject the Lord's Prayer." 4

¹ Zurich Letters, vol. i. pp. 177 and 169. ² *Ibid.*, p. 176. 4 Ibid., vol. i. pp. 348-55. 3 Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 39 and 135.

Although this wise advice had the effect of restraining the Puritans from forsaking their cures, they resolutely refused to conform to the simple ritual requirements enjoined by the Royal Injunctions and the Prayer Book, and consequently a deplorable licence and laxity soon prevailed. "Some," the Queen was informed in 1564, "perform divine service in the chancel, others in the body of the church, some in the pulpit with their faces to the people, some keep precisely to the order of the book, some intermix psalms in metre, . . . some receive the Communion kneeling, others standing, others sitting, some baptize in a font, some in a basin, some sign with the sign of the cross, others sign not; some minister in a surplice, others without, some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button-cap, some with a hat, some in scholars' clothes, some in others." 1

Elizabeth, scandalised at this alarming want of uniformity, wrote a sharp letter to Archbishop Parker, severely reprimanding him and the other bishops for permitting such "sundry varities and novelties," which "breed nothing but contention," and declaring her determination that the "whole realm should be brought to one manner of uniformity." She accordingly expressly authorised the bishops, by virtue of powers conferred by the Act of Uniformity, to publish injunctions "so that uniformity of

order may be kept in every church."2

In obedience to this command, Parker issued the "Advertisements" in 1566, strictly enjoining every minister to wear "a comely surplice with sleeves" at all his ministrations, and requiring all who should be admitted to any ecclesiastical office to subscribe their intention of faithfully observing the prescribed

uniformity in rites and ceremonies.4

The ministers of the Scotch Church wrote entreating the bishops to use gentleness towards the brethren whose consciences were wounded by the use of "such vain trifles," but Parker, although he had himself no special esteem for the cap and surplice, felt compelled by the Queen's command to push matters to extremities. In spite of the fact that the Puritan clergy were a numerous and growing section, and very popular with the laity, Sampson, one of their most prominent divines, was

Strype, Parker, p. 152.
 Parker, Correspondence, pp. 224-6.
 See p. 120.
 Prothero, pp. 193-4.

⁵ Cf. Troubles at Frankfort, pp. 252-3, and Neal, History of Puritans, vol. v. Append. ii (1822).

⁶ Cf. Strype's Parker, p. 542.

deprived of his deanery of Christ Church, Oxford, and thirtyseven of the London ministers were suspended from their ministry owing to their refusal to conform, in consequence of which great difficulty was experienced in supplying clergy for the vacant churches. The congregations also often sided with their Puritan pastors and refused to allow the minister to wear the surplice, or to communicate themselves at a church where it was in use. Churchwardens also refused to provide either a surplice or wafer bread, and on one occasion an administration was prevented by a zealous Puritan worshipper irreverently snatching off "the table both cup and wafer bread, because the bread was not common." Some were so stubborn, wrote Parker, that they would gladly suffer the loss of their liberty and property rather than relent. The Primate experienced great difficulty in persuading Bishop Grindal to proceed against the Puritan clergy in London, and several of the other bishops, especially Pilkington of Durham and Parkhurst of Norwich, were strongly in favour of

granting indulgences to the non-conforming ministers.

After 1570 the Puritan opposition entered on a new phase. The persecutions many of them were enduring by deprivation from their ministry, followed often by imprisonment for their attempts to set up separate conventicles for worship, embittered them against the bishops, and "they began to transfer to the institution of episcopacy that dislike they felt for some of the prelates." 2 A growing number now attacked as unlawful, not merely the habits and ceremonies, but the episcopal government of the Church. Thus, in 1572, a confession of faith was drawn up advocating a purely Presbyterian polity. "The pastor," it declared, "should be chosen by the congregation, and confirmed in his vocation by the elders with public prayer and imposition of hands." All pastors were to possess equal authority, and no church "should exercise lordship over another." Episcopal ordination was not considered by many Puritans as a sufficient qualification for the ministry. They only accepted it as a purely legal requirement for the possession of their cures, to be followed by the "call" or approval of the special "presbyteries," which were being secretly established all over the country,4 and sometimes even by a further ordination by the presbytery of some

¹ Parker, Correspondence, p. 278. ² Hallam, ut supra, p. 140.

³ Neal, vol. i. p. 234 n. 4 At a synod, held at Coventry in 1588, it was declared unlawful to be ordained by bishops.—Fuller, vol. iii. p. 100.

foreign Reformed Church.¹ Bishop Cox informed Gualter, in 1574, that "they (the Puritans) are zealously endeavouring to overthrow the entire order of our Anglican Church. . . . They will not allow bishops to take any precedence than as individual pastors in their respective parishes, whose highest authority they wish to be that of governing, together with their presbytery, the rest of the parishioners."² Bishop Pilkington also writes that "not only the habits, but our whole ecclesiastical polity, discipline, ceremonies, liturgies, vocation of ministers, or the ministration of the Sacraments—all these are now openly attacked, and it is contended that they are not to be endured in the Church

of Christ. The doctrine alone they leave untouched." 3

The most able advocate of the views of this new party was Thomas Cartwright, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who was, in 1570, deprived of his position, and afterwards expelled from the university for publicly teaching the unlawfulness of episcopacy. In 1572 he published a lengthy Admonition to Parliament, praying for the reform of various abuses and the adoption of a presbyterian form of government endowed with an almost unlimited ecclesiastical autocracy. "There never can be a true ministry," he affirmed, "until archbishops and bishops be put down and all ministers made equal," nor a true government of the Church "till kings and queens do subject themselves unto the Church, and throw down their crowns before the Church, and lick up the dust of the feet of the Church, and willingly abide the censures of the Church, that is, of the presbytery. . . . The civil magistrate is none officer at all of the Church. For Church officers are ministers of the Church. The presbytery is the Church, and every congregation or Church should and must have in it a presbytery." 4

This Admonition was answered by the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Dr. John Whitgift, who, in reply to Cartwright's contention that the Holy Scriptures contained the only rule for the regulation not only of doctrine, but also of discipline and government, maintained that, though the Holy Scriptures were a perfect rule of faith, they were not designed as a standard of Church discipline or government, "which might lawfully be accommodated

to the existing civil government."5

¹ Neal, vol. i. p. 211 n. ² Zurich Letters, vol. i. p. 298. ³ Ibid., p. 287.

⁴ Adminition, Art. 2. Cf. Rogers, Thirty-nine Articles, p. 13 (1607).
⁵ Cf. Whitgift's Works, vol. i. pp. 246-50; and vol. iii. pp. 176 and 215.

The Puritans not only possessed a large number of sympathisers in Parliament, but they had also secured the powerful support of Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, and thus attempts were frequently made both to discredit the authority and power of the bishops, and to alter the discipline and ceremonies of the Church. Parker bitterly complained of the secret conspiracies formed against him by the malice of the "precisians," on account of his efforts "to set forth the religion which was good and confirmed by public authority." Elizabeth, however, resolutely refused to allow Parliament to discuss ecclesiastical questions, claiming that it was an invasion of her royal prerogative, and she summarily expelled one member who had ventured to introduce a bill for the further reformation of the Church, and imprisoned another who presumed to question her claim.

On the death of Parker, Grindal, Archbishop of York, succeeded to the Primacy, and, although his sympathy with the Puritans had been alienated by their new and extravagant demands, he soon incurred the full wrath of the Queen by his attitude towards the "Prophesyings" which they had inaugurated. In certain districts a plan had been adopted for the better instruction of the clergy, very similar to the modern clerical societies for sacred study. Certain "classes" or associations of clergy met at regular intervals, under the guidance of a moderator, to discuss and expound a selected portion of Scripture. Unfortunately these gatherings, which must have done much to counteract the terrible ignorance still prevailing amongst so many of the clergy, were sometimes used as an opportunity for disparaging the liturgy or government of the Church, and therefore they were soon regarded by many as secret agencies for increasing Puritan disaffection. Accordingly, in spite of the fact that several of the bishops openly favoured the "Prophesyings" when under proper regulations, Elizabeth, in 1574, ordered Parker to suppress them. Grindal, however, allowed them to continue, and issued a special list of rules to guard against their abuse.2 For taking this liberty he was sharply reproved by the Queen, who peremptorily ordered him to put down the "Prophesyings," and also to issue fewer licences for preaching, directing that homilies should be read instead of sermons. The Archbishop, in reply, wrote a long letter humbly expostulating with the Queen for her strange desire to limit the number of

¹ Parker, Correspondence, p. 472.

² Grindal's Remains, p. 373.

preachers. "Public and continual preaching of God's Word," he told her, "was the ordinary mean and instrument of the salvation of mankind," and the reading of homilies was only substituted "for want of preachers." As to the "Prophesyings," he informed the Queen that both he himself and ten of the other bishops were convinced by experience that they were very profitable, and therefore "he could not with safe conscience give his assent to suppressing them." "I choose rather," he concluded, "to offend your earthly majesty than to offend the heavenly majesty of God." He also petitioned the Queen that she would refer all matters touching Church doctrine and discipline to the bishops, and "not pronounce too resolutely and peremptorily in matters of faith and religion," "as in God's matters all princes ought to bow their sceptres to the Son of God and ask counsel at His mouth what they ought to do." 1

For this conscientious and courageous epistle, so little in harmony with the servile obedience then yielded to royal commands, Grindal was suspended, and until shortly before his death in 1583 was debarred from discharging many of the duties of his high position. Elizabeth sent a circular letter to the bishops, straitly charging them to cause the "Prophesyings" to cease forthwith," lest she should be forced "to make some example in the reforming of you according to your deserts." This strict prohibition seems, however, to have been withdrawn a few years later, as the "Prophesyings" were revived and specially encouraged by the Privy Council and the Bishop of Chester in

1585.8

About the year 1580, a certain number of the more extreme Puritans, under the influence of the teaching of Robert Browne and Robert Harrison, began to advocate complete separation from the Church. They refused even to allow the Church of England or the foreign Reformed Churches to be true Churches, or their ordinations and Sacraments to be valid, and consequently forbade their followers to join in communion with them. These "Brownists," who were the forerunners of the later Independents, regarded each congregation as a separate church, with full powers of organisation and excommunication. Browne was frequently imprisoned for propagating his views, but managed to

² Ibid., p. 576.

¹ Strype, Life of Grindal, pp. 558-74 (1821).

³ Cf. Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 330, and vol. ii. Appendix xxxviii. and xxxix., and Prothero, pp. 206-7.

escape to Holland, where he formed a church after his own model, but eventually he returned to England and conformed to the Church. His followers were, however, frequently imprisoned for refusing to attend the Church services, or for being present at unlawful conventicles; and those who sheltered them were liable to a fine of £10 a month. So bitterly were they persecuted that, by an Act of 1593,¹ all who obstinately refused to conform to the Church were compelled to abjure the realm and the Queen's dominions altogether,² while as early as 1583 Copping and Thacker suffered death as "seditious libellers" for publishing Browne's tracts; and again, ten years later, Barrowe and Greenwood, two more of their number, met with a similar fate.

Although we cannot too strongly condemn such extreme punishments for what were solely ecclesiastical offences, it is well to bear in mind that during this century no idea existed of a Church confining itself to purely spiritual functions, and thus the refusal to conform to the existing ecclesiastical government by priest or layman was regarded by all parties as equivalent to rebellion against lawful authority. Dean Whittingham well protested in 1574, while pleading for toleration to the non-conforming clergy, "that neither is subscribing always a sure note of a good subject, nor yet the refusal due proof of a rebel."

Whitgift, who was promoted to the Primacy in 1583, soon displayed a far sterner spirit than his predecessor in dealing with the nonconforming clergy. He immediately secured, by virtue of the Act of Supremacy, the appointment of a new high commission court, consisting of forty-four members (twelve of whom were bishops), endowed with most arbitrary and comprehensive powers in dealing with ecclesiastical offences. These commissioners were empowered to tender an ex officio oath which compelled, under pain of imprisonment, the suspected person to answer the most searching or incriminating questions.

Whitgift had already raised a storm of opposition amongst the Puritans by prohibiting all preaching or catechising in private houses, if any but the family were assembled, and also by

¹ Gee and Hardy, pp. 492-8.

² All who returned without permission were liable to the death penalty as felons, and all abjuring or refusing to abjure the realm forfeited their lands and goods for life.

³ Cf. Troubles at Frankfort, p. 232.

requiring all preachers and ministers to subscribe the famous "Three Articles" already referred to.1 The Puritans appealed for redress to the Privy Council, maintaining that the article requiring subscription to all the Thirty-nine Articles was illegal, but the Oueen supported the Archbishop, and the Puritan historian affirms that no fewer than two hundred and thirty-three nonconforming clergy were deprived of their preferments.2 The Commons also petitioned against the ex officio oath, and Cecil, now Lord Burleigh, informed Whitgift that he considered the articles of interrogation drawn up by the high commission court "so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as I think the Inquisitors of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and trap their preys."3

These severely repressive measures so exasperated the Puritans that in 1588 anonymous pamphlets under the pseudonym of "Martin Marprelate" began to pour forth from a secret press, libelling the bishops in most scurrilous and abusive language.4 It was found most difficult to trace the authors of these famous "Marprelate" tracts, but suspicion lighted on Penry, a Welshman, and Udal, a Puritan minister, although no conclusive proof of their guilt could be obtained. Although Udal distinctly repudiated them, a jury convicted him, and he was sentenced to death for slandering the Oueen's Government. He was afterwards pardoned, but died in prison before his release. Penry was liberated, but condemned to death in 1503 for writing a seditious pamphlet against the bishops and the Queen.

A theological dispute which occurred in 1585 between Richard Hooker, the Master, and Travers, a Puritan lecturer at the Temple, occasioned the former to undertake his celebrated treatises concerning the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, the first four books of which appeared in 1594. Besides being a work of conspicuous literary merit, it has been generally accepted as the most careful and correct exposition, both concerning doctrine and polity, of the position adopted by the Reformed Anglican Church. Hooker's great aim was not only to justify, both philosophically and logically, the Elizabethan ecclesiastical settlement.

than a piece of swine's flesh."—Strype, Annals, vol. iii. p. 580.

5 "The pulpit," wrote Fuller, "spake pure Canterbury in the morning, and Geneva in the afternoon."

¹ See p. 126, and Gee and Hardy, pp. 481-4.

² Neal, vol. i. p. 323. 3 Prothero, p. 213. 4 Whitgift was usually styled "Beelzebub of Canterbury, the chief of the devils," and the Book of Common Prayer "the great pregnant idol, no better

but also to overthrow the main contention of the Puritans. "that in Scripture there must of necessity be found some particular form of Polity Ecclesiastical, the laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration." He asserted that though the Holy Scriptures were a perfect standard of doctrine, yet they were not intended to establish a uniform or immutable rule for discipline and government, nor was the apostolic practice an invariable rule for the Church in succeeding ages, but that where Scripture was silent the Church was competent to make laws for its wellbeing, provided they did not contradict the express commandments of Scripture. "Laws," he says, "touching matter of order are changeable by the power of the Church; articles concerning doctrine not so."2

To the Puritan contention that the Calvinistic discipline should be binding on all Churches, Hooker replied that though he considered Calvin "incomparably the wisest man that ever the French Church did enjoy,"3 yet no Scripture could prove his discipline to be necessary for all Churches, however beneficial it may have been to the city of Geneva under the circumstances in which Calvin was placed.4 But although Hooker strenuously opposed the Genevan discipline, "he always adhered generally to Calvin's doctrine of election, 5 carefully studied Calvin's Institutes, and invariably spoke of Calvin with respect." 6 While he insisted, in opposition to the Puritans, that Scripture had not enforced any special obligatory form of Church polity, and that "the necessity of polity and regiment in all Churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all," he nevertheless stoutly asserted that this in no way detracted from the pre-eminent superiority of episcopal government; for he claimed, although not a divine command, yet a divine sanction for episcopacy, maintaining strongly that "it agreed best with the Sacred Scripture," and had been the accustomed practice of the Church from apostolic times.

¹ Preface, VII. 4. 3 Preface, II. I.

² Book v., viii. 2. & Cf. Preface, II. 7.

⁵ Cf. sermon, "Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect." From Hooker's summary conclusions on predestination, which are little more than a modification of the famous Lambeth Articles, it is evident that he always remained a moderate Calvinist in doctrine. See Appendix i., Ecclesiastical Polity, vol. p. 542 (ed. Everyman's Library), and Mozley, Baptismal Controversy, note 38.

Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxvii. p. 291.

⁷ Ecclesiastical Polity, bk. 111. ii. 1; book VII. xi. 3 and xiv. 11.

In commenting on the Sacraments, Hooker stated that what was "alone sufficient for a Christian man to believe" concerning the words "This is My body," was that "This hallowed food, through concurrence of divine power, is in verity and in truth, unto faithful receivers, instrumentally a cause of that mystical participation, whereby as I make Myself wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving grace as My sacrificed body can yield, and as their souls do presently need, this is to them and in them My body;" and he carefully pointed out that "the real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament." "I see not," he says, "which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ, when and where the bread is His body, or the cup His blood, but only in the

very heart and soul of him which receiveth them."1

The doctrine and discipline of the English Church, thus ably vindicated by Hooker, and so clearly expressed in the Prayer Book and Thirty-nine Articles, the value of which, as the final results of the English Reformation, "would," as it has been well observed, "be difficult to over-estimate," 2 has called forth the allegiance and affection, not only of past generations of English-speaking people, but also of multitudes who have embraced the Christian Faith in heathen countries. The extravagant and ribald abuse employed in the Marprelate tracts had done much to discredit the Puritans, and the strife between them and the Church greatly abated towards the close of the century. It was succeeded, however, by the rise of a controversy which was destined, in the next century, still further to disturb the peace and unity of the Church. The Puritans had insisted on the divine institution of presbytery. and the Elizabethan bishops and divines, as we have seen, had denied that Scripture enjoined any indispensable form of Church government. "It was enough with them to show that the government by archbishops and bishops was ancient and allowable, they never ventured to urge its exclusive claim," 3 but Bancroft, in his sermon at Paul's Cross in 1589, and Saravia and Bilson, in their writings shortly after, boldly asserted the divine and apostolical right of episcopacy; and its absolute necessity, and the insufficiency of mere presbyterian ordination, for the

¹ Ecclesiastical Polity, bk. v. lxvii. 6 and 12.

² Gairdner, Church History, p. 396. ³ Keble's Preface to Hooker's Works, p. lix. (1845).

maintenance of a valid ministry and an apostolic Church, soon began to be advocated. 1 Not only did this new school of divines soon enunciate this exclusive theory of Church government, but many of them also incurred the charge of "heresy" by presuming to challenge the Calvinistic system of doctrine, hitherto universally regarded as orthodox by the Elizabethan divines. So much had this been the case that Hooker complains, "Do we not daily see that men are accused of heresy for holding that which the fathers held, and that they never are clear, if they find not somewhat in Calvin to justify themselves,"2 while as late as 1603 Bishop Sanderson tells us that Calvin's Institutions were recommended to students at Oxford as "the best and perfectest system of divinity and fittest to be laid as a groundwork in the study of that profession." Thus Barrett, who preached at Cambridge in 1505 against the popular doctrines of election and assurance, was compelled to recant his opinions before the university, and was severely reproved by Archbishop Whitgift, who, at the same time, gave his cordial approval to the strongly Calvinistic "Lambeth Articles" 4 as a guide for theological teaching, declaring them to be "sound doctrine, and uniformally professed in this Church of England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by authority." 5

These new "Arminian" divines, however, not only maintained their position, but, fortified by the royal patronage which they obtained by advocating the claim asserted by the Stuart kings to arbitrary and irresponsible government, they soon became sufficiently powerful to make a largely successful attempt to expel from the Church all who refused to accept their theological opinions. Thus, under the zealous, but mistaken, ecclesiastical regime inaugurated by Archbishop Laud, not only the nonconforming Puritans, but also the conforming clergy of Calvinistic opinions were relentlessly persecuted and driven into opposition, and this rigorous and exclusive policy was one of the direct causes of the tragic but temporary overthrow of both

Church and Crown in the middle of the next century.

Preface, Ecclesiastical Polity, bk. II. 9, Note 2 (Edition: Everyman's

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Bishop Bilson virtually adopted this theory in his treatise, The Perpetual Government of Christ's Church.

⁴ One of these baldly stated, "It is not placed within the will and power every man to be saved."

5 Whitgift's Works, iii. 615. of every man to be saved."

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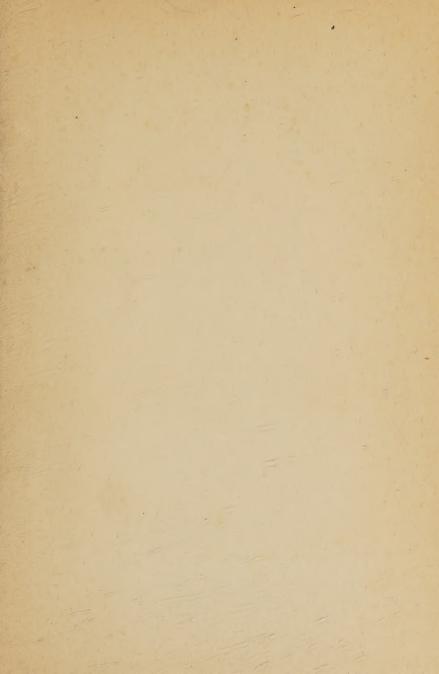
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